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ABSTRACT

A village in the rural area of India--Kishan Garhi--is studied in this visually oriented social studies unit designed for higher education students. Concerned with the contemporary condition of human society rather than the historical evolution of the third world, this unit deals with the process of rural social change and the interaction of technology, society, and culture. A major objective of the comparative approach used is to reveal not only change, illustrating that innovative ideas and practices have penetrated developing countries, but also to present visual data illustrating how the quality of life has improved for the majority of villagers. An innovative approach combines a contrasting study of visual materials. Pictures were taken from Kishan Garhi showing evidence of change between the anthropologist's two visits -- the first in 1951, and the latter in 1968. The major portion of the document provides a list of slides along with interpretations on changes in technology, society, and culture; women's roles; castes and occupations; agricultural operations; and village architecture. In addition, a brief introduction to the project and to the slides is given, and a list of slides and published materials included. Accompanying slides are available from Foreign Area Materials Center, State Education Department, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, New York 10017. (SJM)

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KISHANGARHI VILLAGE

A GENERATION OF CHANGE

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KISHAN GARHI VILLAGE,

A GENERATION OF CHANGE:

TECHNOLOGY, SOCIETY, AND CULTURE

Slides and Interpretations

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State Education Department
and
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FOREWORD

One of the fashions of the times in North American academia these days is espousal of the cause of innovation. That there should be such widespread enthusiasm for "innovative" change in American colleges and universities is perhaps understandable when one reflects upon the capacity of these institutional transplants from medieval Europe to resist meaningful and significant change. Like motherhood and the flag, furthermore, it is easy to be in favor of innovation because it has obviously desirable qualities, such as freshness, challenge, stimulation, and creativity, and it is impossible to define in any operationally meaningful way. Innovation means literally anything new. This simply begs the question, for what may be new in one place is old hat in another.

Notwithstanding these definitional problems and institutional limitations, it is clear that there is innovation in American colleges and universities--or at least that change does occur on college and university campuses and in college and university classrooms. It is also now clear to us that much of what is generally regarded as "innovative" in college and university teaching has occurred in those subject matter areas which constitute the traditional core of higher education in American society, at least as far as the social science and humanistic disciplines are concerned. I refer to the conventional and long-standing preoccupation with the historical evolution of Western civilization and its more recent development on the North American continent. Those whose intellectual interests take them beyond the historical and geographical confines of Western civilization to a concern with the heritage and

contemporary condition of the majority of mankind who occupy the Third World of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are all too little identified with or touched by "innovative" ideas and practices.

With this concern as a working hypothesis, the Foreign Area Materials Center, and its organizational sponsors, the National Council of Associations for International Studies and the New York State Education Department's Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies, sought support from the Institute of International Studies at the U.S. Office of Education for a project to explore more fully the extent to which "innovative" ideas and practices have in fact penetrated Asian, African, and other Third World studies and to stimulate interest in more creative or imaginative approaches to the study of the societies and traditions of these regions of the world so long neglected by our colleges and universities. While we believe that our working hypothesis has been confirmed by this exploration, we have also found a number of individuals and institutions experimenting with what would be regarded, at least in some circles, as "innovative" approaches to the study of Asia, Africa, and other parts of the Third World. What we have discovered is described in a publication of the Foreign Area Materials Center, Students, Teachers, and the Third World in the American College Curriculum: A Guide and Commentary on Innovative Approaches in Undergraduate Education (FAMC Occasional Publication No. 19, New York: University of the State of New York and National Council of Associations of International Studies, 1972).

The other principal objective of this project is to encourage more interest in imaginative approaches to the study of the Third

World. We are attempting to do this in several ways, including widespread dissemination of the Guide just mentioned, a series of conferences for teachers and students (of which the first was a national conference held at the Johnson Foundation Conference Center in Racine, Wisconsin, on "The Third World and the American College Student in the 1970's: Opportunities for Innovation in Undergraduate Education," followed by regional conferences organized by member associations of NCAIS). In addition, we have sought to stimulate interest in more creative approaches to study of Asian and African societies and traditions through the development of three "model units," of which this is one.

This unit, prepared by Professor McKim Marriott of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago, is concerned with the process of rural social change and the interaction of technology, society, and culture. It is based upon contrastive visual materials taken from a single North Indian village over a time span of almost two decades. The other two "model units" are concerned with the development of a topology of the history of Indian civilization through its cities, based on a series of 8 millimeter loop films, and preparation of an Indian urban problem-solving exercise revolving around the basic requirements of "space" and "shelter" in an urban environment.

These three "model units" were selected for development as a part of the Office of Education-supported project because they encompass some basic themes in human society of a global nature. One of these themes is the phenomenon of social and technological change in rural society in the Third World, graphically demonstrated in the "model unit" by Professor Marriott, which undercuts in vivid and direct fashion the myth that Third World

societies are stagnant and unchanging.

While all three "model units" deal with certain basic themes in human society and will, we hope, be suggestive of ways in which similar approaches might be developed in studying other societies or other periods of human history, they also reflect differing ideas or practices which are being more and more widely used in college and university teaching. Two of the three "model units" involve use of visual materials, until recently a relative rarity in college or university classrooms. The "model unit" on the history of Indian cities, furthermore, involves use of 8 millimeter loop films, a visual medium still relatively unknown in colleges and universities in the social sciences and humanities, although widely used in elementary and secondary schools and in the teaching of the natural sciences.

The urban problem-solving exercise is based upon active participation of students in a simulated situation, reflecting the growing interest in games and simulations as a new mode of college teaching which once again is far more widely used at the secondary school level. And all three "model units" are susceptible to use through the "inquiry method" which relies on active participation of students in developing their own hypotheses and generalizations rather than deriving them from the lectures of the professor and the textbooks he assigns. This mode of learning appears to achieve a deeper and more lasting understanding on the part of students, than more conventional educational approaches which are based on the proposition that the teacher instructs and the student absorbs whatever wisdom the teacher has to offer.

Each of these "model units" deals with a specific society and

civilization. We have chosen India as the substantive focus of these "model units" partly because of its intrinsic importance historically and in contemporary terms and partly because of the potentially rich range of resources available for fashioning these kinds of "model units." But as we have suggested, the themes with which these "model units" deal are not in any sense confined to India nor indeed to the Third World, but are truly global in character. Consequently, we hope that the preparation of these model units will help to stimulate and inspire other college and university teachers to develop their own "model units," drawing upon some of these ideas but certainly also incorporating their own ideas and knowledge of other societies and traditions.

It is in this spirit that we make bold to offer "model units" of any sort to college and university teachers and students. College professors have been traditionally resistant to the notion that anyone other than themselves, for use in their own classrooms, is capable of "packaging" units of curriculum material. This is based on the proposition that college and university teachers should be active and productive scholars and that the process of creative scholarship leads naturally to creative teaching based upon the individual professor's own scholarly pursuits. While it is by no means clear just how widespread in fact this proposition is, we seek not to challenge it through the preparation of these "model units." Our primary objective is in challenging and stimulating college and university teachers to develop their own "model units," whether they be inspired by these "model units" or by creative ideas independently arrived at.

We owe an obvious debt of gratitude to McKim Marriott for allowing us to take advantage of his creativity as a teacher and the unusual resources which he has personally accumulated from his studies of the process of rural social change in India. He undertook to put his material in a form which would make it possible to be shared with others in the face of many other demanding and important claims on his time.

As in all other activities of the Foreign Area Materials Center, Edith Ehrman, Manager of the FAMC, and Kathleen Hale, Editorial Assistant at FAMC, have played a key role. Finally, I should like to acknowledge with thanks the very welcome support for the entire project, of which this "model unit" is a part, from the Institute of International Studies of the U.S. Office of Education.

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New York
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INTRODUCTION TO THE SLIDES AND THEIR USES

The purpose of this set of visual documents is to open a variety of pathways for exploring and interrelating some important and complex aspects of an unfamiliar society. Changing rural India is usually approached by single avenues of interpretation--only through highly structured, analytic statements in words or numbers, or visually through fixed sequences of images in films, filmstrips, or photographic essays. Visual documents are offered here as slides in a flexible set to encourage the finding of new knowledge. Arrangements of the slides are initially suggested for exploring three different questions about village society, and interpretive notes are provided to accompany these arrangements. But the slides are also listed and described individually in an appendix to facilitate the many further selections, groupings, and sequences that the student or teacher may devise in the continuing search for understanding.

The photographic corpus from which the present 200 slides were drawn was created not as an object in itself and not to illustrate any single preplanned thesis, but simply to help observe and record many aspects of the natural whole of the social and cultural life of a changing village in northern India. Photography was begun casually in 1951-52, when about 1,300 black-and-white frames were ultimately exposed during 13 months of participant observation and residence by the author in the village. Photography was resumed purposefully and more intensively to speed the gathering of information during the author's briefer residence in the same village

in the winter of 1968-69.[1] At that time, about 4,500 frames were exposed (3,500 black-and-white during 20 weeks, 1,000 color during six weeks), as part of a rapid resurvey of social and cultural institutions that had been studied 18 years earlier.

The present selection of visual documents from the corpus of 5,800 frames was determined by the single purpose of showing evidence of continuity and change in the technology, social organization, and culture of the village between the anthropologist's two visits. Of course, not everything about technology, social organization, and culture can be captured in still pictures: some aspects could have been captured only as sounds, words, moving pictures, diagrams, numbers, etc. And not every significant picturable thing was in fact pictured during the anthropologist's visits. But an effort has been made to sample the village scene widely and to pair earlier (1951-52) and later (1968-69) pictures wherever possible. These pairs can be viewed either in sequence, using one projector, or side-by-side, using two projectors. The side-by-side arrangement is especially recommended, but the accompanying verbal notes can be used in either fashion.

The same comparative set of earlier-and-later slides can be used for many other lectures, discussions, or explorations. Two full-scale examples of other arrangements are offered, one dealing

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1. Field work was supported in 1950-52 by a grant from the Social Science Research Council. The restudy in 1968-69 was made possible by a Fulbright-Hays Center Faculty fellowship, No.CFH8-03400, a U.S. Government grant under P.L.87-256. The author alone is responsible for the findings and the views expressed.

with women's roles, another with castes and occupations. Again within the last arrangement, two alternative sub-arrangements of the same materials are offered, one in the form of a list or inventory of castes and their members' work, the other in the form of statements about typical interrelationships among persons of the same or different castes. The user may wish to devise his own further rearrangement of these materials not primarily by castes, but by occupations (as sketched in the summary of Part I of "Castes and Occupations"), or by land-tenure categories, or by wealth, age, education, etc.

Other entirely different sortings and viewings of these visual documents may prove profitable and enlightening. Examples are the discussions of varieties of architecture (using the backgrounds as well as the focal objects of many scenes), and Agricultural Operations in Order--From Field to Food. One could also select and group slides dealing with the styles of men's or women's costume, or the uses of water, or bodily postures and gestures, etc. Each question brings a new arrangement, and each arrangement brings new findings that can be followed by further looking, questioning, reading, and discussion.

One soon finds that a single slide picture fits into many different categories and arrangements, and answers many different questions. Such a scene as No. 22, for example, tells something about topography, climate, technology, costume, land tenure, kinship, sex, caste, residence, occupation, and economic class. A worthwhile exercise after working with different arrangements of the scenes in pairs or sets is to take a single slide for discussion of <u>all</u> the information that it alone contains, referring back in one's mind to the many intersecting pairs and sets within which it had dif-

ferent meanings. In so doing, one will be exemplifying the common anthropological observation that any one part of culture or bit of social behavior is likely to have many meanings, to fit within connected larger systems and patterns.

Should this initial set of visual documents prove useful to others in study and research, the author would add further slides illustrative of areas of life that are relatively neglected here--the individual biography from childhood to old age, marriage and family life, the festival year, etc.

A GENERATION OF CHANGE: TECHNOLOGY, SOCIETY, AND CULTURE

Introduction

Kishan Garhi could be taken in 1951-52 as an average, conservative North Indian village. Although located in the economically better-than-average western districts of Uttar Pradesh, its particular square mile of land does not enjoy the benefits of canal water from the Ganges or Jumna rivers, or any other special advantage of nearness to transport, industry, or educational facilities. Although its distance is only 100 miles from the energetic capital of the new nation at New Delhi, and much less from the growing district town of Aligarh, the village is itself five miles away from the nearest motor road and seven from any railway. The agricultural technology of the village depended in 1951-52 entirely on the power of hand and hoof. The largely landless village population of laborers and artisans was organized mostly around 68 small peasant farms averaging six acres each, over whom stood a dozen landlords (Marriott, "Social Structure and Change in a U.P. Village", 1952b gives details).

I chose to study Kishan Garhi in particular because of its antique technology and its display of a complex, old-style economic and social organization of many agrarian classes, castes, and occupations. Living there in 1951-52, I found traces of a sense of community in the village's vigorous organization by kinship and marriage, and in the vivid culture of its largely nonliterate folk religion (See Marriott, "Little Communities in an Indigenous Civilization", 1955). But I found also a scarcity of food, a great amount of legal and political conflict for status, and much emigration by villagers searching for a less desperate subsistence

and a worthier life elsewhere. Many villagers implored me to help them survive in the village or to leave it (Marriott, "Technological Change in Overdeveloped Rural Areas, 1952a).

When an opportunity came for me to restudy the village 18 years later in 1968-69, I regarded the prospect with some misgivings. Rural "Community Development Projects" had become a major program of the state government during my absence, beginning in 1952 (as described in Albert Mayer, Pilot Project, India..., 1958), but I knew that in previous years, governmental officers and their programs had rarely penetrated effectively this far from the motorable road. When programs had come, their intentions had often been subverted or distorted by mistrustful villagers. Published works on rural India between 1952 and 1968 focussed on what governmental programs were trying to achieve: official reports on these programs were predictably optimistic, but reports by journalists and academic observers were critical not merely of the failure of these programs to meet their targets, but also of the limited social goals of these programs and the elite bias in the implementation. (An example of this critical literature is Dube, India's Changing Villages..., 1958). Foreign governmental assistance had been substantial, and a Ford Foundation-aided doubling of the intensity of rural extension work (a "package plan") had been instituted for all of Aligarh district during the 1960's; but the results after five years had been assessed as disappointing, and the Ford Foundation had withdrawn its participation by 1968. U.S. officials in New Delhi told me that they avoided taking visitors to rural Uttar Pradesh because they regarded it as "the Mississippi of India." Published analyses of national economic trends generally projected a growth of population, continued poverty, and pessimism.

I therefore had negative expectations when preparing to return to Kishan Garhi village in 1968. Assuming a static technology and a growing population, I thought that I would find increasing hunger, dissatisfaction, and conflict in the village. With quickened emigration, there might well be disorganization of families, and a dissolution of the proud peasantry into a rural or urban proletariat. With the devaluing of rural life presumed to accompany these processes, I expected that the village culture of 1951 would be in decline, if not in total disrespect.

What I found in fact to exist in the village could be presented like so many previous reports as a comparison with specific governmental targets for technological development, or as a contrast with what I, an outsider, might ideally wish to exist in the village socially or economically. I have chosen instead to proceed empirically, comparing a broad range of things seen in 1968-69 with a local baseline--a similar range of things seen in the same village during 1951-52. The following selection of views is therefore arranged as a series of paired comparisons in many aspects of life spanning a generation in the history of the village of Kishan Garhi.

COMPARISONS

I. TECHNOLOGY AND ECONOMY

A. Irrigation

(Designed for simultaneous projection on two screens)

Slide No.		(May be shown on one screen, alternating left, then right column)
1951 Black & White	1969 Color	

Shortage of water supply and of energy in 1951 kept food production at a low rate. Most fields remained idle and empty after the March harvest.

1	501
2	↓
↓	↓
3	↓
↓	↓
4	↓

At the same season a generation later, fields are already plowed, sown with the next crop, and channeled for watering. These are signs of a more efficient, productive agriculture.

Water supplied by irrigation is essential to agriculture in the plains of northern India and Pakistan. River waters are partly diverted into canals, but reach fields only in certain favored areas. Canals do not reach the village of Kishan Garhi in northern India.

Wells are essential to most North Indian agriculture. In 1951 more than 40 wells were in use on Kishan Garhi village's 450 acres of fields. The wells were dug by hand in the soft alluvial soil. Dug wells collapse after a few years, however; therefore dug wells in the 1950's were being lined with brick and concrete as fast as the cultivators could afford to do this. But 40 wells could not raise

Although about 30 inches of rain falls yearly, it falls only during three summer months, yet the warm, sunny climate can grow crops through 12 months, if water is supplied. In this January scene, the higher and unwatered land in the foreground is bare because it is without water. The green fields below in the distance produce throughout the winter, because they are irrigated.

	Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969	
enough water in leather buckets, drawn up by bullocks with ropes from a depth of 35 to 45 feet, to grow winter grain crops on more than a third of the fields, and then the waterings were often too few. Usually there was no water available in April-May-June when the summer crops should have been germinating.	5	505	Steel buckets on circular chains, operated by gears and capstan, were installed by more and more farmers during the 1950's and early 60's. Each of these devices, called a "Persian wheel," could easily quadruple the water yield of a brick, dug well, but still this was not enough by half.
The drilling of a deep tubewell was undertaken by the state government in 1952. It was to be operated by an oil motor.	6	506	By 1953, when the governmental drilling succeeded, Soviet aid had also been supplied to establish a coal and steam electrical generating plant in the district. Thus the well in the village of Kishan Garhi could be operated by electricity. Now a constant rush of irrigation water incidentally affords new and more pleasant ways of taking baths.
Baths should be taken daily, but used to be taken in the smallest possible amount of water.	7		
Irrigation water was once lifted from ponds and channels with a great input of labor. Many landless laborers are of the low Leatherworker caste, but some are found in all castes.	8	508	The operator of an electrical tubewell now need only throw a switch to get water. This operator is the owner of his well, built with the help of a governmental loan and subsidy.
		509	A young Leatherworker casteman, a member of the national party of former untouchable castes, this tubewell owner groups together signs of three kinds of power that he recognizes--electrical, political, and divine.

Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969	
10	510	In 1951, a young man who had been to high school would not want to make his family's expenditure on his education look foolish by working along with his father as an agricultural labor. But in 1969, working on the land with a new technology is thought to be a profitable way of applying one's learning. This high school student keeps the account book for his father's purchase of water from a neighbor's tubewell, and also cultivates the field in his spare time, using the mattock in the background.
11	511	Although many laborers were unemployed or underemployed in 1951, the water channels often remained dry. The channels of 1969 carry much more water, often guided by high school-educated men, like this young landowner.

B. Politics

12		The landlord (zamindari) system formerly impeded new investments in agriculture by most tenant cultivators. Landlords, like B.A.A., took a share of land profits, and often cultivated their personal holdings less efficiently through hired servants. Abolition of landlord tenure was effected in 1952 by government's collection of ten times the annual rent from tenants. Government bonds were issued to compensate the former landlords, while certificates of ownership were given to former cultivating tenants.
13	513	Kishan Garhi's only resident landlord, B.A.A., abandoned his grand house in the village fortress, letting it fall to ruin.
14		

Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969	
15	↓	After abolition, B.A.A. chose to work on his remaining owned land alongside his low-caste servant.
16	516	To replace landlords as political leaders and administrators of villages, village councils (*gram pancayats*) had been established in 1949 by a new election law. As their first council president, villagers chose a conservative small cultivator of Brahman caste, thought suitable because he was not liable to bother anyone. A very different council president is B.D.B., elected in 1966. He is a newly settled cultivator of Jat caste, a former landlord in a canal area to the North. He is skilled in the use of improved seeds and fertilizers, and was the first to demonstrate these on his own land in Kishan Garhi village.
17	517	Village council meetings in 1951 were irregular, did not usually include low-caste or less wealthy elected members. The council had few powers and little income, as it preferred not to offend people by collecting its taxes. The council a generation later, having been granted larger powers, is active in tax collection and public business. Participation is high and offices are keenly sought through elections. Civil suits are very few and almost never brought before the village council.
18	518	Quarrels and factional vendettas were frequently brought to the village council for trial. Often they were appealed to the village's superior regional council and to higher courts. Litigation was rife. Poverty and political uncertainty in the community contributed to these social tensions. In public affairs factions are able to work together. Chairman B.D.B. and the opposition leader, of Brahman caste, join and compete in a successful drive for public subscriptions to a school-building fund.

Slide No. 1951	1969

C. Tools

Many features of technology have helped to increase agricultural production. The old plow was made largely of wood. Its iron point for scratching the soil was only about 1" wide and 4" long.	19	
	20	520
The old, wooden plow is still widely used in sandy loam soils that are easy to till, but the old plow works badly in heavy clay soils that are found in one third of the village lands, as here.	21	521
After plowing, the sowing of seed was and is done by hand-controlled estimate through a bamboo tube mounted behind the old type of ox-drawn plow.	22	
Next the sown field must have its furrows filled and smoothed over by having a weight dragged over them. Oxen are still thought to be essential for this task.	23	
Water channels must then be made before irrigation can proceed. All this work continues to be done by hand.	24	

One new type of plow is made of steel, and has a broad, sharp share designed not merely to scratch, but also to turn the soil.

The new steel plow is especially useful in cutting through clay soils. Here it is used on his day off by a plowman who is not only educated, but is himself a schoolteacher.

	Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969	
		525	Another source of power in addition to man, animal, and electricity is just now entering the agricultural scene--the tractor. Village lanes have not yet been adapted to the tractor's dimensions.
		526	So far, tractors are being used as much for pumping water from wells as for heavy plowing. Heavy cultivating machinery for the tractor will still need supplementation by much work that only bullocks can do.
(Repeat, if desired)	4 or 5 ↓	527	The young man who drew water by hand in 1951 is one of three tractor-owners in the village today. How will these complex new machines be serviced and repaired?
		528	Apparently the new owners intend to learn how to do their own tractor servicing and repairs themselves. Then still more new tools will arrive.
Harvesting of grain crops requires more labor at one time than any other agricultural operation, and earns the workers much higher wages.	29	529	Harvesting today still requires the most coordinated labor and is done by hand.
The crops were cut entirely by hand using small, unserrated sickles, produced and repaired by local artisans from soft iron.	30		Change to harder, serrated, and larger sickles has been occuring gradually. Local artisans cannot make or repair some of these new tools.
Payments in headloads at the harvest of each crop used to guarantee labor-	31 ↓	531 ↓	Now payments in grain at the harvest are bargained up by competition for laborers

Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969
↓	↓
32	532
33	↓

ers at least a minimal subsistence even in times of scarcity.

among landowners. Wages of all kinds have generally doubled or more than doubled in the past generation, and more wages are paid in cash.

Threshing of harvested grain used to be done only by treading under the hooves of bullocks and buffaloes. This way of separating the grain from the stalks took several weeks, a great deal of labor, and prevented the bullocks from doing other work, like sowing or watering the next crop.

Now some landowners use electrical or mechanical grain threshers. Pulled by a single bullock, this Olpad threshing machine can do the job more quickly than treading and can save both human and animal labor.

After covering the threshed grain and praying silently for the gods to increase it, it is weighed before being taken to the landowner's house for storage or sale. Family members work together.

D. Food

34	534

Scarcity of food production a generation ago was driving many members of agricultural families out of the village to seek work in cities. After the harvest, women and children always gleaned the fields--searched for fallen grains of food--before turning the animals loose to graze on the remaining stalks and weeds.

Although labor is saved by some of the new tools and machinery, the greatly increased crops nevertheless actually require more labor than before. Potato cultivation, for example, requires much work, but has increased with higher potato prices.

Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969	
35	535	Crops requiring better water supply are grown on more of the land formerly given to grain. Corn and rice have been added to the old grain diet of wheat, barley, and millet.
36	536	Garden crops such as turnips and sweet potatoes, intensively cultivated by human labor with hoe rather than plow, are now increasing.
	537	Improved seeds--of carrots, for example, obtained on the open market--yield much larger production for animal and human consumption.
	538	Vegetable gardens now contain ten new species of vegetables never eaten in the village before, and new fodder crops, too.
	539	Fruits like papaya and banana, grown in the village, are sold door-to-door locally.
	540	Best liked and most profitable of the new crops is sugarcane. Sugarcane juice is boiled down into crude brown sugar (gur) at ten small temporary factories set up in the fields during the cane-cutting season. Free juice or lumps of crude sugar are given to passersby.
41 ↓	541 ↓	Two electric flour mills attached to tubewells now do the day's grind-

Grain provided the principal item in the diet a generation earlier. For poor villagers, bread was almost the only food available.

Chemical fertilizers to enrich the soil for more new crops gradually became available.

Green manures--crops grown simply to be plowed back to enrich the soil--came into use.

Food preparation was extremely tedious for women in 1951. All grain was

	Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969	
ground fresh daily in the home, taking hours of labor by women.	↓	↓	ing in minutes or seconds.
A typical feast in 1951 contained only breads, potatoes, yogurt, and imported sugar. Ordinary meals were two a day, and even simpler.	42	542	Cooking has now become more varied and elaborate, especially on festival days. Three meals are now the rule for an ordinary day.
Local potters were the main suppliers of baked clay eating and cooking vessels. Unglazed cups would be thrown away after one use, like the leaf plates and cups supplied by the Barber caste.	43	543	Diet is now enriched by many vegetables. At feasts, many more kinds of food are prepared. Permanent vessels of glazed crockery, and metal are many times more numerous in households today.

E. Animals

Milk was in very short supply in 1951, and is still not plentiful.	44	544	There are more animals supported on the same land today. There is a trend toward keeping fewer bullocks for draft purposes and more animals for milk.
Animal disease continues to be common. The skins of dead bovines provided a customary living to some people of Leatherworker caste.	45	545	Cures for animal diseases have yet to reach the village. The social ambitions of Leatherworkers make finding a scavenger more difficult for local animal dealers now. A cash-contracting skin dealer must be called from a distant village.
One or more teams of bullocks was essential to an average cultivator, especially for working daily at irrigation for five or six months of the year. Ownership of a	46 ↓	546 ↓	Bullock labor requirements are lessening with more use of machinery, and some cultivators are selling off their bullocks. Those they do have are usually of a superior

Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969	
		team was a symbol of the self-sustaining peasant's status.
↓	↓	quality, however, and sustain the image.
47	547	Owners had to search and scrape paths and roadways to get enough grass or weeds to feed their animals. Today grass and weeds have become much more plentiful on the strips between the better irrigated and fertilized fields, and in the fields themselves.
48		About half of all fodder for animals was chopped by hand in 1951. Hours of labor were required.
49	549	Another half was chopped in rotary chopping machines pumped by hand, with a much faster output. New chopping machinery uses bullock power to run the rotary chopper still faster, with less labor by two men.
↓	550	Electrically powered choppers, attached to tubewell motors by belts, do the same job in seconds, with only one man on the job.

F. Trade

51	551	Heads carried most burdens in 1951, over footpaths. Heads still carry most loads a generation later.
52	552	Occasional traders carried a yoke, like this low-caste vendor of headload-carrying rings. He collected bread in return for providing carrying rings. A surplus of buffalo milk and clarified butter (ghi) is now sold outside the village on a moderate scale.
53	553	Bulky goods like earth, manure, or grain were carried mostly on donkeys and mules. Donkeys are more numerous and today carry more loads than ever of brick, produce, and manure.

Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969	
54	554	Carts were few, used mostly on short paths from village to fields, in season for selling grain, rarely for travel. Carts are more, but since no all-weather road approaches the village, they carry less than donkeys do.
55	555	Only two villagers had bicycles in 1951--one a well-off priest, the other the local landlord's leisured son. Others walked. More than 85 bicycles have been bought--relatively cheaply--by villagers. Most personal travel moves by bicycle now, often with two or more riders aboard.
↓	556	Much business--machinery repairmen, urban workers, and traders, like this hardware salesman--travels by bicycle, without roads.
57	557	Villagers had little cash or grain to trade, so that only two small shops existed with very little to sell, other than salt, pepper, matches, country cigarettes, local grain in season, rarely other foodstuffs. Six shops have opened in the village, each stocked with dozens of imported items--many more spices, medicines, herbs, vegetables, etc. Most villagers can now afford to buy these new things.
58		A little cotton was grown in the village, and was spun locally by village women.
59	559	Weaving had one full-time practitioner. Other men of Weaver caste were emigrating for lack of materials and market for their products. Factory goods were taking over. One might expect weaving to have disappeared entirely, but instead it has slightly increased. More cotton is being grown and spun locally, and there is a new demand for what used to be thought luxury goods--carpets for feasts (cf. No. 599, 600 below), and heavy goods for men's warm jackets (cf. No. 570 below).

Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969	
60	560	"Beggers" in 1951 were entirely religious, that is, persons giving merit or luck in return for alms, like the local Jogi singers of hymns to Siva or Guga Pir. Such begging is not destroyed by recent prosperity. In fact, the increase of religious alms-taking by many sorts of mendicants is an index of prosperity.
61	561	Nonliterate Muslim Fakir alms-takers were hereditarily attached to all high caste and wealthy families in Kishan Garhi. They gave blessings. The Fakir almsmen continue, but now a more learned kind of mendicant appears--the sadhu, or Hindu holy man who has taken leave of his ordinary life. Three have recently moved to Kishan Garhi permanently.
62	562	Daily routines used to involve much effort in drawing and carrying water from open wells to houses. Handpumps are now found in twenty or more households, giving pure water rapidly to neighbors too. The professional water carrier is out of work.
63		Three men of Waterman caste were partly employed in carrying water to high-caste households whose women were in states of temporary menstrual pollution, or were permanently secluded to show landlord status. Households have many related improvements--concrete drains, garbage catchments, and as very few had earlier, sacred trees of sweet basil (tulsi) in the yard.

G. Houses

64	564	All dwelling houses in 1951 were of mud brick construction with flat mud roofs supported by short wooden beams. The tops of walls were partly protected by strips of thatch. Now most houses and barns are being built or rebuilt in fired brick and cement, with flat roofs of reinforced concrete or stone slabs supported by steel beams.

	Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969	
The mud plaster decoration of many houses imitated the style of the Mughal dynasty's palaces at Agra and Delhi.	65	565	Some of the new brick houses of prosperous cultivators continue to imitate the serrated arches and deep wood panelling of the Mughal style.
An overview from the fortress shows part of the mud village of 1951.	66	566	By 1969, 40% of the village had been reconstructed in brick and cement, as seen from the same place.
A street of mud houses is overhung by strips of roof thatch that protect the tops of the mud front walls and give shade from the sun.	67	567	The facades of most new brick buildings are strongly rectangular in design, with bits of Buddhist, Persian, and Hindu ornament.
Villagers like landlord B.A.A. in 1951 already had imagined models of the architectural shapes they desired.	68	568	A wealthy but childless cultivator and moneylender of Brahman caste has first built a temple with rest-house for pilgrims, and now enshrines himself in a brick Buddhist-style atrium.
The grandest village house of 1951 belonged to another former landlord of Farmer (Jat) caste, here celebrating a wedding. Mud Mughal arches had already been supported by brick columns.	69	569	The building seems unchanged 18 years later, but beneath the mud and thatch, the roof is now supported by steel beams and stone slabs.
Interior decoration of houses consisted of cowdung plaster. Festival paintings were made with bleached rice paste, lime, or red ochre.	70	570	Paintings by women of the house continue to be made at festival times, some the same, others added for newly added festivals.
This festival (Karva Cauth) tells the story of a wife's devotion to her husband. Paintings at other festivals de-	71 ↓	571 ↓	Festival painting techniques now spill over into permanent secular decorations of the house, as here done by a Potter's wife.

	Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969	
pict gods, heroes, animals.			
The kitchen hearth's screen was often decorated in uncolored mud bas-relief by the housewife herself.	72	572	Now school children and shops have brought new colors for screens and and walls, as in this Tailor's house.
The mud house contained few but strictly utilitarian objects, most of them locally made or grown--here fuel, imported grinding stone.	73	573	Even a small cultivator's cupboard now contains dozens of imported items, notably lamps, cosmetics, books, prints of the Hindu gods that may ultimately replace homemade wall paintings.

II. SOCIETY AND CULTURE

A. Families

Household compounds often contained large families of three joint landholding generations. Sometimes houses held married brothers together with their wives and children.	74	574	Village population has risen sharply with death rate lowered by control of malaria and water-borne diseases. A large household group thus may more easily occur today, but is more likely to join in temporary co-residence brothers who have separate incomes. These three sons of a small cultivator earn from bus-conducting, electrical power maintenance, and tubewell operation.
Elder brothers or father's elder brothers should give direction to younger brothers and younger brother's sons. Seniors always require	75 ↓	575 ↓	Sons who have outside jobs (here as teacher and factory worker) may preserve respectful manners toward their father, but it is they who make decisions for the household, for

	Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969	
respect and obedience.	↓	↓	they know the ways of the modern world.
Marriage, required to be outside the village, links local families with families of their affines in many distant places.	76	576	The structure and wide spread of marriage ties continue much as they did a generation ago. Here fathers of the bride and groom greet before parting after completing wedding ceremonies.
During the "bed ritual," of the wedding, the groom is worshipped by the bride's kin and relatives. In 1951, the groom is typically, as here, a 14-year old boy.	77	577	The same ritual form in 1969 is done with richer clothing, but with the big difference being that the average groom is now 17 or 18 years old.
The bride who here sits like a small white package at the foot of the bed while her husband is worshipped is a young girl 12 years old.	78	578	A generation later, brides have attained an average age of 15 to 16. Much more of the bride is seen these days, too.
The wife of a young man should hide her face and be always busy in her husband's presence, while he takes his ease.	79	579	Standing next to her newly wedded husband, a bride in 1969 follows the old custom and hides her face from the photographer, because he is a man of her husband's village and elder to her husband.
The new wife arriving in her husband's village to live in 1951 reveals her face only cautiously, and only to females of the village.	80	580	Following the newer custom, the same bride of 1969 boldly shows her face directly to the photographer.
Those women born in the village need not hide their faces in 1951 from the photog-	81 ↓	581 ↓	A daughter of the village in 1969 has greater freedom--she need not even keep the end of her sari

Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969	
		rapher who is counted as a man of their own village--a brother or father's brother. drawn over her head.
82	582	A favorite type of dancing for wives used to be characterized by phallic gestures and aggressive darting, done with face fully covered. Men were not supposed to see it without feeling insulted. This hysterical, abreactive type of wife's dance can still be seen in the village, but is done usually by older, semi-professionals, and is regarded as comical.
83	583	Women's drab clothing of 1951 included black skirts with shawls or white saris, both worn with long-tailed shirts. Heavy leather shoes were common, if anything was worn on the feet. Both costume and dance styles have changed greatly in the past generation. Even everyday clothing is not only colored, but colorful, and often boldly patterned rather than plain. Saris with shorter bodices have replaced skirts, long-tailed shirts, and shawls. Sandals and light slippers have replaced heavy shoes. Urban fashions have taken hold in the village strongly.
	584	Dancing now has much more variety, influenced, as is song, by what is seen and heard through movies and radio.

E. Education

85	585	Few girls were found among students at elementary school in 1951. Boys, mostly of wealthier, upper-caste families, were taught the three R's High school students are now many, including three girls; 11 young men live in the village while attending college daily. Many are of low caste, like these students of

Slide No. 1951	1969	
		Sweeper and Washerman caste.
86	586	Youngsters now see school as leading to exciting jobs using the new technology. These boys are wearing goggles, thinking of becoming astronauts.
	587	A wealthy cultivator's son now has an M.S. in Chemistry, hopes to go on to Ph.D. in India or abroad.

mainly, were often bored. Rarely did anyone finish high school.

School seemed to prepare students only to be schoolteachers and clerks (cf. No. 10 above).

C. Religion

88	588	A contrasting, very independent seeking for higher caste and religious rank is illustrated by this young man, a teacher, of Carpenter-caste ancestry. He does in Sanskrit a morning ritual required of Brahmans--one that very few of the local semi-literate Brahmans know. He claims that his caste is really a kind of Brahman caste (Maithil Brahman); it will not employ an outside priest or take food from persons of the local priest-supplying Brahman caste (Sanadhya Brahman).
89	589	The form of Satya Narayan is identical today. But use of this optional, non-calendrical ritual form is much more frequent. There seem to be more events to celebrate

Transfers of food, demonstrating relations of rank and shared substance, were central to village religion. Persons of lower caste (here a a Barber family) gave superior food and gifts to persons of higher caste (here a Brahman boy--the future chemist--and girl) to earn merit; the lower then took ordinary food and bodily substances (hair, blood, etc., in this case) from the higher, proving their own dependence and lower rank.

Some rituals retain their form in all details. An example is the Satya Narayan worship and recitation, read from a pamphlet. It was used to mark

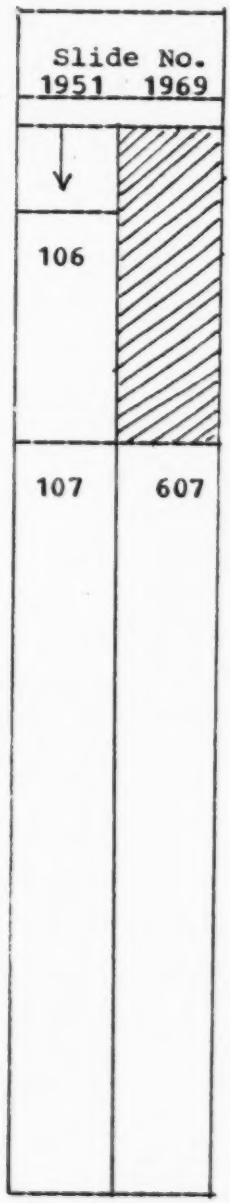
Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969	
↓	↓	good events in a person's life--a male birth, a marriage, a good harvest, etc. these days, and more food and money to spend on celebration. This worship welcomes a new tractor.
90	590	Other rituals have changed from folk to literary versions. The great goddess, or Devi, used to be worshipped only at simple homemade shrines in ordinary language by her devotees, like this rich, but not learned Brahman cultivator. Now one schoolteacher has a personal Devi shrine at which he himself reads a Sanskrit text and does a 16-step routine of worship prescribed in a book. That he is of an ambitious Vegetable Gardener caste several ranks below Brahmans may explain part of his motivation to do things in a better, higher style.
91	591	Most villagers were satisfied that local trees, or mounds of earth and stones, were suitable and sufficient abodes for their gods. The ardent devotees went on pilgrimages to greater shrines far away. Prosperity has led to building four new temples, and adding at least three new festivals. A temple festival may include a large public parade, in which the god visits other gods.
92	592	Replastering the site, offering water and a vernacular prayer were all that was needed for a homemade ancestral shrine. Inside one of the new temples, villagers are learning more complex liturgies, or inventing them, with many errors along the way.
93	593	Do-it-yourself is an old movement in devotional religion, as illustrated by B.A.A.'s personal celebration of Lord Krishna's birthday. In 1951, he himself recited a popular poem that tells the story of the day. Prosperity permits his hiring more professional performers--a Ras Lila troupe from Mathura city--to sing and act the same god's biography.

Slide No. 1951	1969	
		D. Entertainment
Villagers used to look for entertainment mainly to certain elder ladies for oral variants of the tales going with each fast and festival.	94	594	Amateur and semi-professional storytellers, some hired from a distance, now circulate more often in the rural areas.
Dancing entertainments derived from the Kathak school of the Mughal court were and are common in the rural area at times of weddings. However the real female dancers of the Mughal court came to be impersonated by males to avoid outraging rural opinion.	95	595	Realistic trends, prosperity, and the influence of movies now provide the village with more frequent visitations by dramatic companies whose feminine roles are again sometimes taken by women.
Classical Indian music was disliked by all but three or four villagers in 1951.	96	596	By 1969, exposure to rag on the radio and in movies had spread a taste for classical music much more widely.
The village bands, Muslim Beggar (Fakir) groups, used to perform for weddings only marching music, played ad lib, with an effect something like New Orleans jazz, in an irregular rhythm.	97	597	By 1969, these bands had diversified somewhat, in imitation of the latest urban sensations, with new music, cadence, and choreography.
		598	Some of the boys in the band are intriguing-looking people, and very popular entertainers.
			E. Caste and Rank
The 24 castes of	[illegible]	[illegible]	Feasting on the largest

Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969	
		the village in 1951 were most clearly placed in order by the transactions in service and food that occurred around weddings, funerals, and other occasions for la[illegible]le feast[illegible] vant cast[illegible] was to pro[illegible] its services, and [illegible] to receive food according to its standing as decided by the host.
99	599	possible scale continues as a focal occasion for creating and fixing rank. But as persons of different caste sit and eat in a jumble, so do people's opinions about the separateness, distinctiveness, and ranks of th[illegible] castes become less [illegible].
100	600	Guests of Brahman caste were treated with the greatest deference--seated in the innermost eating area, here the verandah. Their food was prepared and served by persons of high caste.
		At large feasts today, such as this funeral feast, no special places or times are set aside for Brahmans. They eat along with men of ten or fifteen other high castes. Men of another ten lower castes are called later, or seated in a separate area. But there is no more caste-by-caste separation of seating in twenty or more groups as there once was.
101	601	Lower-caste persons such as these Leather-worker caste laborers, agricultural employees of the host, were fed on the outer platform, and served by men of castes ranked below the host, but above their own.
		Only the lowest castes are now sharply distinguished by their place of seating--in the street below the platform. These are Sweepers and Hunters from distant villages who have come uninvited, but who will not be turned away by the host.
102 ↓	602 ↓	The Sweeper (Bhangi) permanently attached as servant of the host's household, acted and acts as scavenger at a feast.
		Sweepers continue to keep pigs and chickens. Early each morning, they herd the pigs through the village streets and around the ponds to eat the gar-

	Slide No. 1951	Slide No. 1969	
He disposes of the leaf and clay dishes, and either eats or feeds the food refuse to his pigs or chickens. He can then eat the meat and eggs, and sell the pig bristles.			bage and human feces that may be left there; or they may carry such wastes away in baskets.
Women of certain low castes had special, low jobs. The Sweeper's wife was and is the midwife. This woman is of a caste (Sinchivala) specializing in cupping injuries with a horn to reduce pain, and in prostitution. Such low-caste persons may not enter the houses of other castes.	103	603	Somewhat more liberal is the treatment of the lowest castes today. This Sweeper's wife, for example, is acknowledged to be one of the most beautiful women in the village. I found her chatting with people of higher caste inside the Tailor's house.
The setting and massaging of broken limbs is an old hereditary specialization of certain men of Oilpresser caste, in this village a Muslim caste of low rank.	104	604	One low-caste man is now the nearest approximation to a modern general medical practitioner to be found yet in this rural area. He is a Khatik, by caste rank just below Potter or Tailor, and just above the Muslims and Leatherworkers, yet he can enter Brahman houses and administer penicillin shots to persons of high caste.
Villagers used to have rather precise ways of marking their differences of relative rank--caste, age, or power, etc. Two persons could hardly sit together without demonstrating rank. On one cot, the senior man sits	105		

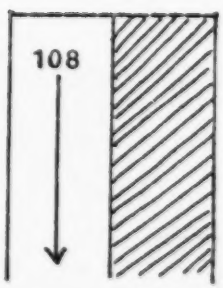
"above" (toward the smoother head of the cot); inferiors sit on the platform floor. These are two men--older and younger--of Brahman caste being asked to arbitrate a dispute between some Watermen and some construction workers of Leatherworker caste over fulfillment of a building contract. The Leatherworker men stand in the street. Thus four distinctions of rank--three pertaining to caste ranks--were here enacted. Such distinctions were loudly and commonly enforced in 1951.



In 1969, such distinctions of caste rank are considerably mitigated. Brahmans tend to be offered higher seats, as in this scene, but often share them with low-caste men. Here men of of several high and low castes, including the very low Leatherworker caste, share the same elevation by sitting together on a house platform. Still an invitation to sit should be issued first by the higher-ranking person; the lower should not generally presume to take such a privilege on his own. What was a rule once has become more a matter of manners and personal practice a generation later.

F. A Festival of Reversal

Once each year, the village of a generation ago ceremoniously reversed many of these features of rank by sex, age, and caste. The festival of Holi began on the full moon



Slide No. 1951	1969	
		of March with an all-village bonfire, from which all fires in the village were relighted.
109		The next morning, dust was thrown by children at all elders. Could such a rude, rural custom endure in the modernizing world? Would there be reason for it to endure, considering the trends toward mitigation of once more severe dominance by males, elders, and high castes?
	609	Apparently, Holi could and did endure largely intact, and with some of its features elaborated. In 1969, boys were throwing dust on their elders and each other Holi morning as they had been doing 18 years earlier.
110	610	Lord Krishna had shown the milkmaids a more refined way to do all this--and so colored water was used in the afternoon. And in 1969, they had not forgotten this custom, either. Here a woman pours dye on the neck of an affinal relative.
111	611	The smearing of red powders on each other's faces by friends was taken to be an expression of love. No one should get angry. The same custom continues in 1969 with vehemence and good feeling.
112	612	Next, the wives attacked all men in the husband category with color, then with sticks--again to show their passionate love. There is no abatement of this overturning of the wife's ordinary proper subordination and passivity.

	Slide No. 1951	1969	
If husbands persisted, they would find themselves drenched with colored water.	113	613	A state of riot still prevails in every lane.
The day--and three subsequent days--was filled with informal merriment, music, and pranks.	114	614	In 1969, a committee of Brahmans put their minds to the matter and came up with a formalized game expressing the same sentiments but better devised for the entertainment of spectators and many visiting relatives in the growing village, while only slightly curbing the spontaneous enjoyment of the participants. It incorporates some elements of the new technology. With a large audience on walls and rooftops surrounding the yard of an electric tubewell and flour mill, a picked team of 15 women volunteers attempts to defend a ten-pound cake of the new country sugar (mounted on a central pole and shelf) against seizure of a team of 15 dedicated male robbers. Any thieving husband who is beaten by a wife's stick during his attempted theft is thereby eliminated. He may ward off blows with his own stick, if he keeps one end planted on the ground. But no man actually succeeds in seizing the sugar cake without being beaten.
		615	
		616	
		617	Wives of all castes so much enjoy beating the husbands that they burst through the formalities of the game in an unplanned general assault.

Marijuana (bhang), music, and oddly costumed dance used to sustain the festival mood on into the spring heat of the year.

Slide No.	
1951	1969
110	610

Conclusions

Looking at village life in these ways reveals a generation of change in much more than agricultural technology. Credit, subsidies, electrical power, some fertilizers, improved seeds, and machinery were made available through governmental channels; peasant cultivators then themselves became the main agents of local change. Production, employment, population, wages, and charity all rose together. Trends of migration were reversed, and local conflict declined. Diet, clothing, housing, and health improved along with agricultural prosperity. Family life also prospered, distinguishing the same roles and relationships, but modifying styles of behavior, especially for women and children. Distinctions of rank among castes were reduced. Education became a part of rural life for many, and enriched the contents of local religion. Classical, courtly, and new urban styles were influential in many spheres (in dress, dance, music, architecture, and social manners), but were balanced by a renaissance of interest in the symbolic, expressive culture (the language, paintings, and festivals, especially) of the village itself.

What has happened during this generation of change in the average, conservative, remote village of Kishan Garhi is probably not exceptional. Visitors from districts to the East and South of Aligarh look enviously at the new tubewells, tractors, and brick buildings. Villagers from districts to the North in Uttar Pradesh and in Panjab speak disparagingly of the crop yields, illiteracy, and relatively slight electrification and mechanization that they see in Kishan Garhi. The people of Kishan Garhi themselves say both that they have come a long way in the past 18 years, and that

they expect to travel even further into their adult years during the next generation.

WOMEN'S ROLES

It is perhaps a combination of our biases as foreign observers with our lack of knowledge of everyday Indian life that yields our common misimpression of North Indian rural women as uniformly oppressed, silent, and ignored. This may be because we are used to picking out for attention just those features of Indian women's social life that negate our own positive values--the Indian woman's lack of choice of her husband, the lack of public demonstrations of connection between spouses, the woman's hiding of her head or face, etc. We do not select for notice those Indian features that we ourselves lack--strong bonds between the woman and her siblings, the separate hierarchy of power and respect among women, the woman's privileged patterns of joking and insult, feminine divinity, etc.

One way to evade our own biases is to work with our sample of visual data that were <u>not</u> selected to examine women's roles, but were selected for another purpose--to illustrate changes in the technology, social organization, and culture of a village. Many of these data provide casual, almost accidental, therefore unbiased and candid, understanding of women's roles. If we now simply focus our attention on what the women in these scenes are doing, we may find ourselves investigating questions about women's roles that we would not otherwise have thought to ask.

Naturally--almost inevitably--we have looked first at men. They are, more than women, the essential, enduring personnel of any Indian village. Rural Indian society provides great stability for males. Most boys born to village families may be confident of passing their lives in the same place, at first working under the direction of fathers and father's brothers and elder brothers, later directing the work of younger brothers, sons and brothers' sons. A man stays with his ancestral lands if he can; he knows everything about how each field lies, and

8, 16

24, 75

which way the rain and irrigation water will flow upon
89 it. The continuity and unity of the males who are born into one household or village is celebrated through their shared feeding of the gods, and through their
589 sharing of the food and substance of the god's body (his garbage and saliva) that the god gives back to men after consuming some of their offering.

33,547 Girls join their brothers in play and work from very early in their lives. Brothers, it is thought,
49 should do the heavier work, while sisters, either little or big, may help with lighter tasks. Girls are thus favored in their original families, are indeed called "goddess" and are honored, since they are, like deities, only temporary sojourners, guests. Like benevolent goddesses, girls should also always be
23, 532 ready to lend a hand, to add their weight to the moral support and success of the enterprises of their fathers and brothers and panthers' sons. When a brother plows
22 for a new crop, the sister of any age, if she happens to be visiting her childhood home, may well walk beside her father or brother and sow the seed through the
88 wicker drill. When a brother prospers, a sister prospers. She may sit beside him when he eats, as may a brother. When she bears her first child, she may come to her father's or brother's house to do so.
81, 581 A girl need never hide her face from any woman, or from her father, from a brother, or from any other male, older or younger ("father's brother," "brother's son," etc.) who has been born into her own father's village (or who is regarded, like the long-resident male anthropologist, as a native of the village). The concept of "village" includes in this region all of the adjacent villages, too. This is the area within which intermarriage would be regarded as incest, and where it
78 does not occur. But sisters cannot remain forever near to their brothers, as they are, by rule, given away in marriage to previously unacquainted husbands, who reside in unfamiliar, often distant villages. A
77 girl's childhood relatives must convey her to her new master--her husband--honoring and worshipping him, and giving him huge gifts to dispose him well toward her. As his wife, she will herself honor and worship her husband, putting him in the ruling place over her that her father occupied before her marriage.

70, 71, 570 Wife and husband are made of one body by feeding each other from the same dish at the wedding and by their subsequent bodily intercourse. At many annual holidays, the wife shows her unity with and subordination to her husband by fasting while preparing a feast for the husband. One holiday, that of Pitcher Fourth, celebrates a mythical wife whose brother causes her to break her fast too soon. Her husband immediately dies, being dependent on her vow. But the heroic wife resumes her fast and continues it for a whole year, then revives her husband by feeding

him with her own blood. The pictures drawn in nearly every house repeat this model for marital behavior. (Details are given in Marriott 1955, pp. 203-206).

82 While a girl is being married out of her original family and village, the wives in her husband's family are in their distant village celebrating her capture. She will add to their numbers, become their junior apprentice, their servant. The arrival of a new bride
80 in her husband's village is a momentous matter for local women. The bride usually takes the place of some locally born girl (who marries out). The bride may be thought of as stealing that girl's brother's affections and resources for herself and her children. The wife
35 and sister of a man are traditional rivals, even enemies. For the other married-in women--the wives of the village--the bride becomes a life-long associate. In the family, she becomes a junior wife, doing women's work under the direction of her husband's mother. She is the last person in the family to eat at any meal. The mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationship is a relationship famed in folklore for being full of tension, especially during the time when the husband's mother first establishes her rule over
73, 79 the nearly helpless newcomer. The new wife may expect to be given the heaviest chores of housekeeping. She will be told to fetch water, to make cowdung cakes for
41 fuel, and to plaster the house. Before electrically powered flour mills came to the village, and even now in some families that do not use them yet, she is told to rise every day long before dawn in order to grind by hand the grain required for the family's bread. In this situation, to show respect, the young wife hides her face from the photographer, whom she says she regards as her husband's elder brother. She can address him only in whispers, or through an intermediary child. Since I knew there would be less restriction on our talking, I asked her to regard me as her husband's <u>younger</u> brother, whereupon she pulled the cloth off of her face, and shouted at me to get out, because I was bothering her! Thus she switched, with my claim to a relatively younger age, from a relationship of respect, to the opposite, but equally conventional, joking relationship that prevails between a wife and her husband's younger brother. (Examples of such relationships are in No. 51 and 112 below).

44 A man may do the milking, but women usually do this work, too.

552 It is always women who churn the butter out of soured milk, and who coax the <u>ghi</u> (clarified butter) out of the butter by simmering and skimming it. The money for which <u>ghi</u> is sold belongs to the male head of the household, not to the woman who makes the <u>ghi</u>.

52 Cooking the main dishes of meals is usually the husband's mother's job, at least until she chooses to resign that central position to a younger wife, usually to the wife of her son.

88, 41, 79 When a wife cooks (No. 88), even more than when she grinds (No. 41) or plasters (No. 79), she may have to work in the presence of her husband or his male elders. A 72, 572 screen around the kitchen hearth is than a convenience, since she can keep her face respectfully out of sight without pulling the end of her sari (called "dhoti") down over her face. With a cloth over the face, it is extremely difficult to see and to manage a dark and smoky open cooking fire.

95 A greater degree of seclusion of wives can be found in the former style of life of Hindu landlord groups. The Muslim courts of Delhi and the Muslim nobility generally restricted all woman--daughters and wives alike--to an inner, segregated household, or permitted their going abroad only with total veiling and heavy male chaperonage. Such restrictions protected a Muslim ideal of marriage among close patrilineal kin. The outward forms of veiling and 69 household seclusion were partly emulated by Hindu landlords, but applied to wives alone--not to daughters--consistent with the very broad range of high-caste Hindu marriage, and the major distinctions among receivers, possessors, and givers of 63 women. Domestic servants, such as watercarriers and many more, were required by those households among the richer tenants who would also cultivate the Hindu landlordly style in some degree.

62 But such restrictions never went far among non-landlords--never prevented Brahman tenants' wives of mature years from moving on their own in village streets, for example. High- or low-caste tenants' 51 wives could work at many tasks in the fields, and as they gained in age, found a larger and larger proportion of the village to be made up of males classifiable as "husband's younger brothers"--joking relatives. Here two wives sing a salacious, abusive song about their husband's younger brother, the anthropologist.

A few widows and older wives of high caste and more of lower caste are by necessity self-supporting through businesses of their own--shopkeeping and 57, 103, prostitution (No. 57), or other personal services 94, 595 (No. 103), or entertainment (No. 94, 595). The prestigeful style of wifely modesty and separation from 52 the husband's sphere of work can drop off sharply with employment outside the home, with poverty, or with low caste rank. The Hunter's wife (No. 52), for example, though not aged, covers her face before neither her husband nor any other man; she assists

her husband as a partner in his manufacture and sale of string products, and moves without restriction in
603 village or city markets. The Sweeper woman (No. 603) as a midwife is necessarily on professional terms with all, and need not hide.

18 A widow of sufficient years--a woman who owes respect to no living man--can be a strong personality, not only in her household, but also on the public scene in the village. She has climbed the women's separate ladder of seniority, and now respect is owed to her by many who are classed as offspring and by all of either sex who are junior to her in the village.
599-600 The death of such a senior woman can be the occasion for a major funeral feast, with respectful participation by hundreds of men as well as women (who eat separately inside the compound).

81, 90, 590 The concept of divine power that is worshipped more than any other in the village is that of the hot-tempered Goddess--the female deity who has no master. She is worshipped in several forms by all Hindu women (No. 81), and also by men (No. 90, 590). Unmastered, unmarried goddesses having various names are evidenced by stones and mounds that emerge from the fields at dozens of places in the village territory.
501 Such goddesses give crops or famine, success or failure, offspring or barrenness, protection or destruction. A stone beneath the tree at the far side of this field, for example, is the place to propitiate the irascible goddess who sends smallpox
91 to the village children nearly every May. She may be worshipped with burning coals--her own predominant humor being heat--or with cooling substances such as water--antidotes calculated to reduce her wrath.

108 The year's greatest festival begins with the re-enacted cremation of a powerful goddess, Holika.
110, 112-113; 610, 612-613, 615-618 In this Tantric Saturnalia-like festival there occurs a thoroughgoing reversal of the ordinary attitude of wifely respect for the husband. (For details, refer to the festival section of "A Generation of Change," and to the article by Marriott, "The Feast of Love," 1966).

74-85; 574-584 (Some slight changes and some large continuities in the pattern of female roles between 1951 and 1969 are noted beside these pairs of slides in "A Generation of Change.")

Conclusion

In sum, the roles of females in this North Indian village community are varied and filled with sharp contrasts of rank and power, especially among the premarital, marital, and post-marital phases and places of life. A woman commonly comes to manage sequentially or simultaneously relationships of cooperation, subordination, and domination in relation to her original kin and affinal relatives, to males and females, to seniors and juniors. Far from being ignored, the roles and relationships of women are taken as major modes of relating mankind to all great and cosmic forces.

CASTES AND OCCUPATIONS

The 200 scenes previously selected to show changes and continuities of the generation 1951-69 also happen to picture quite comprehensively the castes and occupations of Kishan Garhi village and their characteristic modes of mutual relationship. Pictures of persons representing 24 castes and about 40 occupations are listed below in Part I, in index fashion, in order of their caste rank. Characteristic modes of association among persons of the different castes and occupations are then outlined in Part II, which follows this preliminary listing.

I. Castes and Occupations: A Listing

24 castes are listed here in order of their ranking, represented by letters of the alphabet. The order of caste rank was discovered by a sampling of opinion, and confirmed by an analysis of interactions among their members. (Details are in Marriott, "Caste Ranking and Food Transactions: A Matrix Analysis," 1968). Under each caste heading, some of its members' occupations are exemplified.

Each caste has a set of occupations that are thought to be both natural and morally proper for its members to pursue because of their genetic inheritance of a code for conduct. Actually, some members of most castes earn their food by occupations other than those thought most natural and proper to their respective castes, because their inherited occupations are filled up or otherwise not viable.

A. Sanadhya Brahman

The moral code books of Hinduism describe the proper work of Brahmans as studying and teaching the Vedas (ancient Sanskrit texts), giving and receiving gifts, and sacrificing for themselves and others. Brahmans of Kishan Garhi accept these duties as morally correct, but find them beyond realization in practice. Brahmans in fact tend more than others to be students (No. 85, 535, 585, 587) and teachers (No. 86, 520-521), but the texts of these Brahmans are modern secular books, almost never the Vedas. Still, the propriety of studying has taken some Brahmans naturally into technological (No. 541, 574), governmental (No. 13, 14), literary (No. 593), and commercial (No. 91) occupations.

Only two familes out of 43 are able to earn by the Vedic priestly work of sacrificing for others (No. 89, 589), and most have a knowledge of how to sacrifice for themselves only in vernacular Hindi (No. 90, 91).

As "gods on earth," Brahmans do sometimes receive gifts (No. 88, 100, 561), acts that automatically earn merit for their benefactors. Most often, however, they are in the position of giving gifts (to priests, mendicants, and guests) and thus earning merit, since in this village they control most of the land whose products are the substance of wealth.

About 90% of Brahman families in Kishan Garhi village cultivate the land as tenants before and as owners since 1952. These regard agriculture as their natural and proper hereditary occupation. Members of this large landed Brahman class dominate the village and appear in one fourth of all the scenes: No. 4-5, 7, 16-18, 34-35, 51, 62, 74, 77-78, 88-90, 95, 100, 106, 113, 518, 520-521, 525-528, 536-537, 542-543, 545-546, 554, 562, 567-568,

574, 583-584, 589, 591, 594, 599-601, 607, 612-618.

B. Jat Cultivator

The Jat Cultivator caste group is commonly called Jat "Thakur," meaning "Lord," in several hundred villages surrounding Kishan Garhi, since their ancestors took the region by force in the seventeenth century. They are not regarded as Ksatriyas, however, and do not wear the sacred thread. Most Jat families in the village continued as landlords (zamindar) under British control during the nineteenth century, but had sold to outsiders and become cultivating tenants, along with their former subjects, the Brahmans, by 1900. A single resident family, that of B.A.A., held landlord title up to 1952. Its members, activities, and possessions as landlords appear in No. 12-13, 15, 55, 68, 93, 96, and 111, more recently as owner-cultivators in No. 513, 581, 591, 593, and 596.

A closely related family of the same patrilineage, that of B.A.B., retains its grand residence in the landlords' original fortress area (No. 69, 569), but had lost its landlord rights through default of taxes early in the present century. B.A.B., the father, appears in No. 17 and No. 103-104; his sons appear in No. 1, 19-20, 517, 582, and 611. Other cultivating families of the same lineage figure in No. 7, 94, 555, and 573, the men of No. 7, 573, and 611 subsisting partly as cartdrivers or traders. An unrelated cultivator family is represented in No. 81 and 510.

Aspects of the life of B.D.B., the immigrant village council president of 1969 and his elder brother--innovators in local agriculture--are seen in No. 503, 516-518, 540, 552, and 566.

One of only three landless Jats in the village appears in No. 118: he is a drug addict, laborer, vagabond, clown, and thief.

Through schooling, some sons of Jats having various relations to land seek education (No. 85, 611), but all families continue their caste's natural and proper connection with agriculture.

C. Barahseni Vaisya Merchant

The one family of Merchants residing in Kishan Garhi and those others that have most contact with the village are mainly involved in commerce as retail sellers or wholesale agents or buyers (No. 54, 57, 111, 552), although most also own and cultivate some land. Their children are usually schooled (No. 85-86). Wearers of the sacred thread, these rural Vaisyas consider themselves to be living thoroughly within their caste code and nature.

D. Kulasrestha Kayastha Scribe

Bureaucrats and literary men by caste, the native Scribes of Kishan Garhi have emigrated to higher teaching jobs via postgraduate study, while other, immigrant Scribes have taken over the village's clerical jobs (No. 14, 112). All appear to conform closely to their caste heritage.

E. Maithil Brahman Carpenter

The seven resident families of artisans who in 1952 provided carpentry and blacksmithing (No. 75) for Kishan Garhi and a dozen other villages, claim descent from a Brahman caste of Mithila, a region 400 miles away to the east. Their style of life closely

imitates that of the reputedly indigenous Sanadhya Brahmans (No. 81, 50, 583, 588). But lacking land and seeing factory-made products replace their hand-made products, half have moved through schooling into new occupations such as teaching and modern technological jobs (No. 575, 588)--work consistent with either part or all of their dual caste heritage as Brahmans and artisans.

F. Jogi Devotee

Jogis are travelling mendicant performers of songs for the worship of the god Siva and the serpent-connected god, Zahir Pir (No. 60, 560). By derivation they are also often secular entertainers (No. 596), and by necessity traders, either stationary or itinerant (No. 557, 576). As intermediaries with the gods, they are regarded by their gods' worshippers as quasi Brahmans.

G. Phulmali Cultivator

The name means "Flower Gardener" and alternates with another name, "Flower Brahman," since flowers are grown exclusively for offering to the higher Hindu gods. General agriculture and school learning (No. 10) are both small extensions of the caste's natural and proper occupation.

H. Kachi Cultivator

The caste's name connotes "Vegetable Gardener," but its mostly landed, cultivating members (No. 22, 529) prefer to be called after a similar royal Rajput name, "Kacvaha Lords." However, they do not wear the thread of the twice-born. Rather, they follow Brahman and Jat ways of life (No. 62, 579-580, 592, 610). One cultivator's s[illegible] is a teacher (No. 590).

I. Baghele Cultivator

These are also styled "Lords" (Thakur) as landowners, some of them being purchasers of landlord rights and claiming affiliation with Rajputs of Northwestern India. They are, apart from two landless laboring and trading families (No. 67), progressive cultivators (No. 505, 511, 531-532, 544, 549) with large houses (No. 544, 565-566), and with practical interests in education (No. 586). They are providers of many feasts and festivities (No. 100-102, 112). The story of their climb from being typed as "Goatherds" (Gadaria) is told in the Marriott article, "Caste Ranking and Food Transactions: A Matrix Analysis," 1968.

J. Turai Waterman

This caste owns a series of occupations that includes water-carrying (No. 63), boating, palanquin-carrying, water-chestnut growing, and other domestic services and entertainments (No. 618). They depend for their food upon hereditary service with high-caste, wealthy employers (No. 106-107). As these specialized services are not sufficiently in demand, Watermen are also general agricultural laborers or sharecroppers (No. 65, 73, 531).

K. Nau Thakur Barber

All of them are engaged in a complex, heritable package of annually paid domestic services that includes care of the hair and body generally, food service and cleanup, management of family rituals and communications (e.g., No. 576). Barber "Lords" are involved in many social occasions. None need take up agricultural work beyond tending his own small garden plot, but one does a

little horsecart taxiing (No. 560). Barbers are seen in No. 44, 66, 70, 72, 79, 88, 539, 560, 566, 576, 583, 618.

L. Gola Potter

As makers of clay vessels (No. 43), Potters need to haul clay (No. 553) and deliver their products. Their donkeys are used for general hauling of trash (No. 53), and mud brick and firebrick for houses (No. 66, 564, 571). Some Potters do general agricultural labor also (No. 547), and one owns a little land (No. 571).

M. Darzi Tailor

A single, landless family with three workers has more than it can do of tailoring work (No. 572).

N. Karhera Cottoncarder

The traditional work of this landless caste group is operating a stringed wooden machine that fluffs up quilt-stuffed, or new, locally grown cotton for spinning into thread, or for freshly stuffing another quilt. This work, other mechanical work such as the repair of bicycles (No. 607 shows such a shop), or repair of steel irrigation buckets (by the artisan whose house and person are shown in No. 71 and 517, respectively), agricultural labor, and emigration to urban jobs--all are attempted by them for survival.

O. Koli Weaver

Weaving (No. 59) and the fallback of agricultural labor (No. 4) provide most of this caste's subsistence.

P. Khatik Cultivator

The name means "Butcher" or "Meat Cutter," but the caste sometimes claims to be of Rajput lordly origin ("Surajbansi,") while believing its natural, inborn occupations to be connected with agriculture--tending orchards, guarding the village, etc. One family is a landed and prosperous cultivator (its members are shown in No. 18, 34); others are laborers (No. 18, 21, 51, 62, 67, 534, 615-618), some specializing in making country sugar (No. 540). One educated Khatik is a physician (No. 604).

Q. Fakir Beggar (Muslim)

Fakirs receive alms to benefit the Hindu or Muslim giver by returning spiritual merit and blessings. They believe that they descend from a mendicant, propertyless Islamic saint. Given land, they farm (No. 32, 58, 76, 96, 518, 596, 607). Lacking land, they beg from fixed clients (No. 61, 83), follow their old occupation of drumming or playing music at ceremonies (No. 97), weave (No. 76), trade (No. 556), or do agricultural labor (No. 3, 34, 531, 553, 582). One has gone through school (No. 86) to become a railroad engine fireman.

R. Manihar Bangleman (Muslim)

Traditionally the manufacturer or seller of women's glass wristlets, local Manihars have actually found employment in agricultural labor (No. 15), more recently in weaving (No. 559).

T. Teli Oilman (Muslim)

Oilmen buy locally grown oilseeds to press from them cosmetic and cooking oils for local or extra-village sale (No. 18). Ex-

perts in oil massage, they also set broken bones (No. 104). They appear further in scenes No. 41 and 596.

U. Jatav Leatherworker

These are all "Leather people" (Camar) in name, the highest of the "untouchable" castes, although no more than two of the 16 households actually had the duty of disposing of dead cattle and their hides (No. 45), and repairing leather irrigation buckets and shoes (No. 5, 8). These two households had fixed claims on many kinds of annual payments in kind from the cultivators. Now neither services nor payments are given locally, but contracts are sold by government auction to competing tanneries that may be many miles distant.

Only two families of Leatherworkers are landholders--the large cultivator U.A.B. (who appears in No. 607; his eldest son and well in No. 508-509) and a small gardener (in No. 1, 42, 92, 538-539), whose family once repaired buckets.

Others are largely sharecroppers (e.g. No. 19) or agricultural laborers (No. 23, 30-32, 48, 80, 101, 519, 532, 534, 541, 550-551, 615-618) and building construction workers (No. 64, 65, 107). Some have emigrated to urban brick-making and ccnstruction jobs. Schooling is rare among them, secondary schooling attained by only two boys so far.

V. Mathuriya Washerman

Three of six households have some land, one of them a large plot burdened by expensive legal dispute with the former landlord and therefore farmed by impoverished, old-fashioned bucket-lift irrigation (No. 46). Clothes-washing for fixed clients among

landed cultivators of higher caste, along with agricultural labor and hauling on their mules and donkeys--these are the main means of subsistence of the caste, whose life is pictured in No. 31, 82, and 577-578. The caste is low and "untouchable," since it takes on bodily dirt from others. A single Washerman student attends high school (No. 585).

W. Kanjar Hunter

Hunters hunt small animals and reptiles, keep chickens, make string, ropes, mats, and other products for sale (No. 52). Their feeding on garbage-eating creatures places them near the bottom in rank (No. 601).

X. Bhangi Sweeper

Sweepers are sometimes called "landlords" because their hereditary clienteles, fixed by the necessity of their pollution-removing services, can be sold and bought like land. Garbage and feces can sustain the Sweepers' pigs and chickens, however, and together with the daily food payments received from each household of higher caste, can offer an adequate living to several families (No. 102, 503, 601-603). The Sweepers' low social position also serves as encouragement for some to move outward by education (No. 585).

Summary

Although each caste is believed to have certain occupations that are natural and proper to it, the alternatives and extensions within these conceptions are such as to promote a recurrence of similar occupational categories within many castes. In most

castes (A, B, F, G, H, I, J, L, N, O, P, Q, R, T, U, V), some persons live from agricultural labor and in many (A, B, C, H, I, L, P, Q, U, V) there are full-time owner-cultivators. Landlord rights were, however, concentrated in castes A, B, and I only. Trade and transport are carried on by some households of many castes (A, B, C, F, I, K, L, Q, R, T, V, W) where agricultural subsistence is not adequate. While other nonagricultural services and crafts are relatively few in this rural village, they continue to exist as minor and part-time, if not universal, full-time ways of making a living in nearly all the castes (A, D, E, F, J, K, L, M, N, O, Q, R, T, U, V, W, X).

Nevertheless, as Table 1 shows, there is a correlation of greater economic resources with higher caste rank, and a strong correlation of higher wealth and rank with positions of official power and employment. Education continues to recruit officials, teachers, and specialists in the new technology from some households in all castes, high and low. But proportionately more of such recuitment is from the economically more advantaged households, and there are proportionately more of such advantaged households in the higher castes.

II. Relations among the Castes

Groups of a single caste can sometimes be found working on small-scale tasks at the household level, such as A and A threshing (No. 16), making channels (No. 24), sifting grain (No. 36), and servicing a tractor (No. 528); B and B weighing grain (No. 33), chopping fodder (No. 49), and bicycling (No. 55); E and E making a cart (No. 75); U and U irrigating (No. 8).

16, 24, 36, 528, 33, 49, 55, 75, 8

Since the local populations of most of the castes are very small, however, most villagers are thrown together with members of different castes much of the time. They inevitably find themselves carrying on some of the same activities side by side, without much formal coordination. Thus one observes neighbors of castes A and P carrying loads along the same path (No. 51); A, K, P, Q, and U gleaning grain from the same field (No. 34); K, P, Q, and U standing in the same crowd (No. 83); P and U cutting grass on the same bank (No. 47); U resting on Q's threshing floor (No. 32); U and V working at harvesting for the same employer (No. 31).

51, 34, 83, 47, 32, 31

Neighbors and friends of castes that are close to each other in rank may choose to join with each other, as do girls of castes B and E in worshipping the Goddess (No. 81), or women of castes A, B, E, and K celebrating a pilgrimage (No. 583). But mixtures of persons that cut widely across the ranks of the castes, like that of B and Q (No. 96), are regarded as dangerous

81, 583, 96

and wrong (in 1951).

106-107, 18 Members of each caste group (especially a smaller local group) are thought to owe each other some political loyalty, like kinsmen. In case of a fight with someone of another caste, caste fellows will usually be found standing together.

The castes are thought to be essentially different from each other in their bodily substances and moral codes. They are also thought tc be naturally connected and mutually dependent, in proper order of 591 rank. The gods are the highest, most powerful beings of all, and men can benefit greatly by visiting the gods (No. 591). Men should drink the fluids in which 592 the god bathes (No. 592), and eat the remains of the 589 food offered to the god (No. 589), since these contain some of the bodily substance and powerful essence of the god himself. Brahmans are said to be "gods on 599 earth;" therefore, any food they can provide to the other castes is of the highest value--even their ordinary food, leftovers, and garbage. It is the duty of 100 other castes to serve and honor the Brahmans with gifts; 88 in return, they may be privileged to feed the Brahmans 561 and to receive Brahman food. (Here members of caste I feed Brahmans). So it is also with other castes, the 99 lower caste taking food and other payment (I with hire- 101 ling P feeds men of caste U in No. 101; all from A to 102 V give garbage to X in No. 102), the higher caste taking deference and services (B has foot treated by a

103 caste of rank equal to W in No. 103; B has leg massaged
104 by T in No. 104). Leatherworkers do higher castes the
545 service of removing animal corpses (thus A-T/U*, No. 45, 545). Their own bodily substances lost by women of the
603 higher castes at birth are removed by the midwife of
602 Sweeper caste X (No. 603). Similarly, the feces of higher castes are removed by Sweepers' pigs (No. 602). Such actions are proper, and are felt to create an actual natural ranked order of the bodily substances of the castes whose members perform them.

Holding such a conception of the natural and moral ranking of castes, villagers in 1951 (and to a lesser extent in 1969) felt that intercaste relations of all other kinds should conform. Thus members of a
63, 12 caste are generally found working in domestic service
576 (e.g., A-I/J in No. 63; B/U in No. 12; F/K in No. 576)
95, 97, and in household entertainment (A-P/Q in No. 95, 97,
582 582) only for employers who are members of superior castes. Alms-receiving, using media of money and
560, 61, uncooked foodstuffs, is somewhat less restricted
593, 595 (hence A-P/F in No. 560, A-P/Q in No. 61) and so is public entertainment (thus B etc./A in No. 593 and A-P/B in No. 595).

The tendency for a few castes to possess most of the economic resources (apparent in Table 1) has both

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* To be read "castes of ranks A through T stand as superiors to caste U" in this context.

helped to create and now helps to maintain the existing order of the castes. Naturally, the main forms of agricultural work (harvesting with A/P, U in No. 534, 29, 31, 529, 534, A/U, V in No. 29, H/K, P, U in No. 31, H/U in No. 531, 65, 529, I/J, Q in No. 531) and building construction (J/U in No. 65, 107; P/U in No. 64) also correlate 107, 64, strongly. So does access to education and governmental power (e.g., A/B in No. 13; A/D in No. 14; A/C, Q in No. 86). 13, 14, 86

While the employer was nearly always of higher caste than his employee, the two have usually been able to share their joint tasks very closely. Thus employer B and employee U take turns on the threshing floor in No. 1. Similarly, employer I and employees U and Q cooperate in well-digging (No. 3), A and O in well irrigation (No. 4-5), B and S in winnowing (No. 15), B and U in carrying plows (No. 19) and levelling (No. 23). 1, 3, 4-5, 15, 19, 23

Commercial buying and selling for cash has generally been unordered by norms of caste rank (e.g., T/P in No. 18), although the concentration of the means of production in the hands of the higher castes has meant that sellers are often of higher, buyers of lower caste (as in A/B in No. 510, B/C in No. 552). 18, 510, 552

Confrontations among castes at public facilities remain problematic where food and water are to be handled. Thus while castes A to P may draw water from one well in a Brahman neighborhood, drawing by any

caste lower than P would be resisted, and drawing by castes B to P must be done using metal vessels, although
62 caste A may use earthenware vessels (No. 62). The reasons are that the substance of ordinary food and of the body are carried readily by earthen, not readily by metal vessels; and such substance may properly pass downward, not upward.

Without rationale other than a polite acknowledgment of caste rank, uses of space and altitude in furniture and architecture were once highly ordered.
105-107, (See No. 105-107 in the section, "A Generation of
607 Change"). The reduction of the three ranks of No. 106-107 to two in No. 607 suggests some changes, however--the rise of the tubewell-owning individual U.A.B. (seated at right), and a generally lessened regard for public exhibition of caste rank. That mixed food
599-601 transfers are actually creating fewer ranks seems evident in No. 599-601.

The availability of an institutional form for temporarily reversing the many kinds of differentiation
108-114, and rank--the festival of Holi (see No. 108-114 and
609-618 No. 609-618 in "A Generation of Change")--may explain psychologically some of the persistence of some of the structures noted so far.

Politically and administratively created public relationships among members of different castes are probably a cause of some of the trends of change. A diffusion of power through widely elected officials
17, 517, at all levels including the village (No. 17, 517,

518 518) has tended to diminish differences of power based on caste rank and wealth. And greater access to education (No. 85, 86, 585-587), although easier for the wealthy, has also assisted the rise of some individuals of low caste. Similarly, land tenure reform by legislation, like conquest and famine in past times, has brought about the fall of some individuals of high caste (See No. 12-15 in "A Generation of Change").

85, 86, 585-587

12-15

Specimens of radically changed intercaste behavior are to be seen in No. 539, where a Leatherworker sells cut fruit--considered to be like cooked food--to a Barber; in No. 541, where a Brahman miller grinds the grain of a Leatherworker (reversing a previously frequent master-servant relationship); in No. 599-601, where the order of feasting is now jumbled for many castes and separates only the lowest castes; in No. 603, showing a Sweeper admitted to a Tailor's house; and in No. 604, where a Khatik physician treats Brahman patients whose house his parents might not have been permitted to enter at all.

539, 541

599-601, 603, 604

AGRICULTURAL OPERATIONS IN ORDER-- FROM FIELD TO FOOD

1951	Typical of: Both	1969	
Preparing the land			
	66, 503		Landscape
	19	526	Plow; tractor-cultivator
	20	520	Plowshares
	21	521	Plowing in clay
	546	527	Power for plowing: bullocks, tractor
	53	36	Manures: rubbish and dung; chemicals
	22, 78		Sowing seed in field; in wedding ritual
	23		Smoothing sown field
	24		Channelling smoothed field
	501		Channelled field squared for irrigation
Irrigation			
3		6	Making wells: digging; drilling
4		508	Well operation
5		509	Well operation
46		506	Well operation
		510	Well operation: accounting
	11, 535		Water channels
8	511		Watering: lifting, guiding

1951	Typical of: Both	1969	
Cropping			
	47, 547		Weeding
	535, 536	538	Hand (mattock)-cultivated garden crops
	10, 529		Harvesting peas
	534		Harvesting potatoes
	29, 30		Harvesting grain
	34, 51		Gleaning fallen grain
	31, 531		Stacked grain; payment of workers
	1, 16, 32	532	Threshing
	15		Winnowing threshed grain
	33		Weighing winnowed grain
	54		Threshed straw from grain stalks
	67, 69, 569		Straw thatched roofs
Food processing			
	36		Sieving grain
73, 41		541	Grinding grain
	540		Making sugar
	88, 542		Cooking
	42	543	Cooked food as served
	100, 101	599, 600	Food service
	52		Cooked focd collected as payment
	102		Garbage collected as payment

VILLAGE ARCHITECTURE

Mud Buildings

(See No. 64-67, 69-73, 569-573 as discussed in "A Generation of Change" above)

Additional views:

Streets	No. 525, 613
Facades	No. 604, 607
Platforms	No. 17, 79, 109, 539, 601
Verandahs	No. 74, 106-107
Courtyard and Kitchen	No. 88, 97, 542
Rooms	No. 12, 90, 5
Maintenance	No. 79, 513

Brick Buildings

(See No. 564-568 in "A Generation of Change" above)

Additional views:

Facades and Platforms	No. 101, 599-600
Verandahs	No. 100, 517, 588, 590
Rooftops	No. 611
Tubewells	No. 506, 508, 510
Flour Mill	No. 615, 616
Temples	No. 538, 591, 592, 614

CASTES, LAND, AND POPULATION

Caste Names and Traditional Occupations in Caste Rank Order	1952			1969
	Land (avg. acres per family)	Population		
		Families	Persons	
A. Sanadhya Brahman	6.0	43	234	269
B. Jat Cultivator	3.0	15	73	74
C. Barahseni Merchant	0.0	1	1	1
D. Kulasrestha Scribe	2.0	2	6	0
E. Maithil Brahman Carpenter	0.0	7	34	19
F. Jogi Devotee	0.0	3	18	20
G. Phulmali Cultivator	0.0	1	11	7
H. Kachi Cultivator	5.4	3	29	31
I. Baghele Cultivator	10.9	6	42	62
J. Turai Waterman	0.5	4	20	24
K. Nau Thakur Barber	0.2	7	24	24
L. Gola Potter	0.0	12	46	56
M. Darzi Tailor	0.0	1	7	11
N. Karhera Cottoncarder	0.0	5	17	11
O. Koli Weaver	0.0	6	21	1
P. Khatik Cultivator	1.0	9	41	57
Q. Fakir Beggar (Muslim)	1.5	11	65	110
R. Manihar Bangleman (Muslim)	0.0	1	5	13
S. Mirasi Singer (Muslim)	0.0	1	1	1
T. Teli Oilman (Muslim)	0.0	1	9	14
U. Jatav Leatherworker	1.5	16	84	94
V. Mathuriya Washerman	2.0	6	36	70
W. Kanjar Hunter	0.0	1	5	5
X. Bhangi Sweeper	0.1	4	27	38
Total	2.7	166	856	1012

SLIDES IDENTIFIED SINGLY

1. Threshing wheat in April, 1952. Left, agricultural worker of Leatherworker caste (rank U); right, a cultivator of Jat caste (rank B), whose grandfather was a landlord. Fields after cutting display the squares that had been used to control irrigation.

2. Map showing location of "Kishan Garhi" (pseudonym) village.

3. Digging of well for a cultivator of Baghele caste in August, 1951, by agricultural workers of Leatherworker, Fakir Devotee, and other castes.

4. Raising water for irrigation in February, 1952, by an independent cultivator of Brahman caste, below, aided by his agricultural worker of Weaver caste, driving bullocks on six-month contract.

5. Raising water in February, 1952, by Brahman cultivator.

6. Drilling tubewell (unsuccessfully) by an Uttar Pradesh governmental team in 1951. Workers are landless laborers of Leatherworker and other castes from nearby villages.

7. Men bathing at a well near a religious shelter: left, a Brahman cultivator and trader; right, an ex-landlord of Jat caste (rank B).

8. Lifting water from pond to their rented field in September, 1951, by agricultural workers of Leatherworker caste U.

10. Working and idling at the harvest of April, 1952. On the left, a landless worker of Phulmali caste (rank G), and on the right, his son, a high school senior.

11. Dry water channel between barley fields, in December, 1951.

12. Men's parlor in the fortress house of Jat-caste landlord B.A.A., 1951. His agricultural worker of Leatherworker caste (rank U) sits at the right. (Same worker's 1969 garden, vending appear in No. 538-539).

13. Landlord abolition campaign of November, 1951: in the truck, a tax official of Brahman caste (rank A), talking with a Jat landlord of another village.

14. Landlord abolition proceedings in February, 1952: tax officials, of Brahman caste, direct Kishan Garhi's village accountant, of Scribe caste (rank D).

15. Winnowing grain in April, 1952. At left, pouring the grain, is an agricultural worker of the Muslim Manihar caste (rank R); sweeping, at the right, is ex-landlord, B.A.A., of Jat caste (rank B).

16. Threshing grain in May, 1951, are independent cultivators of Brahman caste, at right, A.A.J., council president and at left rear, his father's younger brother. (For biographic sketch, see Marriott, "New Farmers in an Old Village," in Singer, ed., forthcoming).

17. Village council (gram pancayat), 1951, consisting mostly of cultivators of Brahman caste, plus one of Jat caste at right.

18. Argument over sale of cooking oil in 1951 between a trader of Oilman caste (rank T), right, from a neighboring village, and a woman customer of Khatik Cultivator caste (rank P). Also arguing is the village watchman, rear, another Khatik. Observing are a carter of Brahman caste, and laborers and cultivators of Khatik caste, foreground.

19. Old-style plows still in use in February, 1969, are carried by an independent cultivator's son of Jat caste, left, and his sharecropper partner, a landless Leatherworker, right.

20. Old-style plowshare shown in 1969 by Jat cultivator's son.

21. Plowing in light clay soil with an old-style plow, March, 1969, by an agricultural servant, caste Khatik (rank P), working for a wealthy priest-landlord of Brahman caste.

22. Sowing summer crop with old-style wicker seed drill, in clay soil, March, 1969. Working together are a brother and sister of Kachi Cultivator caste (rank H), on his large holding.

23. An agricultural servant of Leatherworker caste is smoothing a sown field by dragging a heavy beam; getting a free ride is a granddaughter of ex-landlord B.A.A. of caste B. March, 1969.

24. Making water channels, October, 1951. Cultivators of Brahman caste, brothers.

29. Harvesting crew, March, 1952. The employer, a cultivator of Kachi caste (rank H), has landless wage workers of Barber (rank K), Khatik Cultivator (rank P), and Leatherworker (rank U) castes.

30. Harvesting barley with old-style sickle, March, 1952.

31. Stacking harvested wheat, March, 1952. Workers of Leatherworker and Washerman castes (ranks U, V).

32. Threshing grain by treading are independent cultivators of Fakir Devotee caste (rank Q) in May, 1951. Observing is a Leatherworker youth.

33. Weighing newly threshed grain in April, 1952, are brothers and a sister of a cultivating family of Jat caste (rank

B).

34. Women gleaning grain fallen during harvesting in April, 1952, come from landed and landless families of many castes (ranks A, K, P, Q, U, etc.). Nearest woman is of Leatherworker caste.

35. Sifting new grain for a Brahman cultivating family in May, 1952, are its widowed daughter-in-law and her widowed mother-in-law.

36. Pulverizing chemical fertilizer, for a rich, cultivating family of Baghele caste (rank I) are landless workers from another village, March, 1969.

41. Grinding grain for an Oilman's family is the duty of the younger wife. She hides her face and respectfully does not speak to husband's male elders.

42. Feasting at a wife-giving village, a laborer of Leatherworker caste eats fried bread, curried potatoes, sugared yogurt, with water. 1951.

43. Potter making unglazed disposable clay cups for feasts. 1951.

44. Buffalo cow being milked by its owner, a Barber. 1969.

45. Carcass of buffalo calf being flayed in 1951 by tannery-linked Leatherworkers of another village.

46. Bullocks at low end of ramp, having lifted full bucket, in the last surviving old-style irrigation well of the village, 1969. Operated by a cultivator of Washerman caste.

47. Cutting grass up by the roots for use as animal fodder in 1951. Cutters are agricultural laborers of Khatik and Leatherworker castes (ranks P and U).

48. Chopping grain stalks by hand, old-style, for animal fodder. 1969.

49. Chopping animal fodder with rotary machine, 1951, are a mother, married daughter, son, and small daughter of Jat caste.

51. Carrying gleaned grain from fields in May, 1951, are women of Brahman and Khatik castes (ranks A and P), wives of an urban cook and a rural laborer, respectively.

52. Trading their products--string rings for balancing water jugs on the head--for bread in 1951 are a local wife and husband, of Kanjar Hunter caste (rank W).

53. Potters loading their own donkeys with a customer's refuse to be used as manure on customer's field, March, 1969. Household refuse can be bought and sold.

54. Merchant (of caste C in Babu Nagla village) carting straw for sale in June, 1951.

55. Local bicycle owners of 1951 were only one landlord's son of caste B (left) and one wealthy priest (not shown). Youth at right is landlord's son from next village.

57. Weighing imported eggplants at tiny local shop, 1951, is widow shopkeeper of Merchant caste. She is also mistress to a Brahman bachelor.

58. Muslim woman spinning home-grown cotton for local weaver. 1951.

59. Weaver of Koli caste (rank O) makes shirting in 1951, suiting and carpets in 1969.

60. Singing devotional songs for alms is the traditional work of men of the Jogi Devotee caste. 1951.

61. Begging alms in return for a blessing earns a living for a few of the many landless men of the Muslim Fakir Devotee caste in 1951. Beggars have fixed local clienteles.

62. Drawing water from a paved public well in 1969 are wives of cultivators in castes ranking A, H, and P.

63. One of three professional Watercarriers takes water to his hereditary clients' houses. 1951.

64. Fitting roof beams to mud-brick house in 1951 is a Leatherworker laborer. House belongs to a landless Khatik family.

65. Mud Mughal decoration of house front, 1951. The mason of Leatherworker caste from a neighboring village works for a cultivating householder of Watercarrier caste (rank J).

66. Rooftops and courtyards of mud houses, 1951, belonging to families of Barber and Potter castes (ranks K and L).

67. A street of laborers' brick houses with thatched walls in 1969 recall the universal appearance of village houses in 1951.

68. Model of an ideal Siva temple made by Jat-caste ex-landlord B.A.A. in 1952.

69. Top of fortress house built two generations ago by a landlord of Jat caste, seen in 1951. Group celebrates arrival of a son's dowry.

70. Beginning a painting for the fast of "Pitcher Fourth" in 1968 are a Barber-caste boy and his brother's wife. (Also in No. 71).

71. Painting for fast of "Pitcher Fourth" (Karva Cauth), 1951, with water jugs above and storeroom behind in the house of an artisan of Cottoncarder caste (rank N). (See Marriott, Village India, pp. 203-206, for details of the fast).

72. Decorated kitchen screen with wife hiding behind it, shop in foreground, 1951. This is the house of a Barber.

73. Interior court of old-style mud house, 1969, showing stairway to roof, dung cakes piled for fuel, wife grinding grain. This is the house of a cultivator of Watercarrier caste, same as in No. 65.

74. Parts of a Brahman cultivator's joint family, plus neighbors' children. Decorated paper, upper right, is to repel evil eye. 1951.

75. Carpenters (caste E) making an ox cart, with father's brother directing work of brother's son. 1951.

76. Fathers of newly wedded pair embrace at parting, after bitter bargaining throughout the wedding. Both are of Muslim Fakir Devotee caste, the boy's father a local cultivator, the girl's father a weaver from a remote village. 1951.

77. Wedding "ritual of the bed," on second day of ceremonies joining two Brahman cultivating families. The groom, age fourteen, at head of cot, is worshipped by the bride's relatives, who strew grain and water around the bed (continued in No. 78).

78. The bride, age twelve, sits fully covered at the foot of the cot while the groom is worshipped. (Same occasion as in No. 77; compare diagram in No. 105 and situations in No. 106-107).

79. A Barber's wife replastering the mud platform in front of house, while husband sits. 1951.

80. New bride of a laborer greeted by local girls and wives in the Leatherworker neighborhood. 1952.

81. Worshipping by placing mud figures at shrine of "Goddess of the Roadways" (Pathvari), 1951. Married girls of Kishan Garhi at home on visit, dressed up for picture. Their castes are Jat and Carpenter (ranks B and E). (Same deity in No. 90, 91).

82. Dancing by wives in Washermen's compound to celebrate wedding of a son elsewhere. 1951.

83. Women laborers and servants dressed up to meet visiting foreign woman (anthropologist's wife), 1951. The women are of castes K, P, and U; the man in the foreground is a beggar, caste Q, same as in No. 61.

85. Students from Kishan Garhi, where no school existed in 1951, attending elementary school at nearby Babu Nagla. They are sons of landlords, traders and cultivators, of castes A, B, C.

86. The sole teacher in 1951 of the elementary school in Babu Nagla. The students seen are sons of cultivators in Merchant and Fakir castes (ranks C and Q).

88. Brahman brother and sister, children of the wealthiest cultivator, being fed for merit at the festival of Divali in house of a Barber, 1951. (Same Barber boy in No. 576, Brahman boy in No. 587, as of 1969).

89. Fire sacrifice (hom) concluding worship of Satya Narayan, 1951. All are Brahmans. Sponsor, an independent cultivator, is at left; performing priest is in striped shirt, rear. Purpose is to promote survival of sponsor's infant son whose elder siblings have all died.

90. Household shrine to the Goddess (Devi), who is also worshipped at a village shrine as "Goddess of the Roadways," and at her main center at Nagarkot in Kangra district, Panjab. Owner is a past pilgrim to Nagarkot, a well-off cultivator of Brahman caste. 1951. (Same man is in No. 568).

91. Worshipping with water and fire at village shrine of "Goddess of the Roadways" (elsewhere called "Stony One"), 1951. (Same as in No. 81). Worshipper was childless, troubled, a trader, of Brahman caste. (For more on the Goddess, see Marriott in Village India, pp. 215-217).

92. Mud plastering the shrine (than) of an ancestral Leatherworker spirit to give him peace, at festival of Divali. 1951.

93. Swinging brass image of baby Krishna at festival of his birthday, August, 1951, in temporary shrine in household of Jat ex-landlord B.A.A.

94. Expert teller of festival stories, one of a dozen such elder women to whom younger wives go for authoritative versions in 1951. She is non-literate widow of cultivating Jat ex-landlord.

95. Dancing in peasant version of Kathak Mughal court style to entertain a Brahman bridegroom's party from Kishan Garhi during their three-day stay at bride's remote village, 1951. Dancer is outsider male probably of caste J, songs erotic. (Compare No. 597-8).

96. Light classical Indian music-lovers of Kishan Garhi recording songs in Aligarh city, 1951. Ex-landlord B.A.A sings at left; cultivator of caste Q accompanies at right.

97. Music on "English instruments" by hired band of traders and laborers of Muslim caste Q is performed at the wedding

of a bridegroom from Kishan Garhi in his bride's village.

99. Diagram of services and feasting at household ceremonies, such as weddings and funerals.

100. Feasting on inner verandah of brick parlor, 1951. Brahman cultivators are fed by a family of Baghele (caste I) cultivators on occasion of son's wedding. (Also in No. 101, 102). (See Marriott in Singer and Cohn, eds., Structure and Change in Indian Society, pp. 164-166 for story of Baghele climbing).

101. Feasting on outer verandah of brick parlor, 1951. A family of Baghele cultivators (I), aided by a Potter servant, feed their debtors and employees in agricultural work who are of Leatherworker caste.

102. Sweeper attached to a family of Baghele cultivators collects food garbage, used leaf plates, and broken clay cups from feasters at wedding feast, 1951. (Same occasion as in No. 100, 101).

103. Treating pain in a foot by suction with a bull's horn is the specialty of an itinerant low caste (Singhivali), which is also expert in massage, prostitution. Foot belongs to cultivator client of B caste. 1951.

104. Bonesetter of Oilman caste (T) massaging to promote healing of the broken leg of ex-landlord (B) cultivator, whose wife assists by pouring oil. 1969.

105. Diagram of ranked positions in use of string cot; cot has a higher and a lower end; cot is higher than ground; and single occupancy is higher than multiple occupancy. (Examples are in No. 77, 106, 107).

106. Arbitration of a dispute over a building contract between Waterman (rank J), owners (seated on platform floor, rank R), and Leatherworker builders (see No. 107). Arbitrators are elder and middle-aged Brahman cultivators seated in age order (elder higher) on cot, left. 1951.

107. Dispute over a building contract between owners of Waterman caste (rank J) seated higher on their own platform floor (below Brahmans on cot, at left), and builders of Leatherworker caste (rank U), standing in steet below. 1951. (Same occasion as in No. 106).

108. Bonfire of Holi spring festival, 1951. Men of all castes attend, roast and exchange green barley, greet mutually, carry coals back to kindle extinguished household hearth fires. (See Marriott in Singer, ed., Krishna, for an account of the festival).

109. Boys and youths of many castes throwing dust and mud on elders (here, on the photographer) on the morning of the first day of Holi festival, following the bonfire. 1951.

110. Lord Krishna and cowherds exchanging sprays of colored water with Radha, his paramour, and cowgirls, at a mythical Holi festival. From a painting made in Kangra about 1780, published in W. G. Archer, Kangra Painting, p. 3 (London: Faber and Faber, 1952).

111. Mutual smearings of red powder (gulal) by close friends at Holi, 1952. At left is a trader (Merchant caste), of neighboring village, Babu Nagla; at right is local Jat ex-landlord B.A.A.

112. Housewife seizing a younger male to "play Holi" by daubing him with a dye, a few days before the festival in 1952. She is cultivator's wife, caste I. He is student (and anthropologist's assistant), of caste D, normally a resident of Aligarh City, but here treated as a local male.

113. Men of a bridegroom's party drying their clothes after being soaked with colored water on entering houses of the bride's village "to play Holi" two months before the festival in January, 1952. All are cultivators, Brahmans.

114. Villagers of all castes making merry by lewd dancing, scurrilous singing, forcing absurd costumes and acts on others, on afternoon of Holi, 1952.

118. Dancing in streets, like more throwing of mud, occurred spasmodically on later days of Holi, 1951. Dancer is a vagabond, occasional agricultural laborer, of caste B; others are of many castes.

501. Field sown and squared for irrigation, March, 1969. Women and children in middle distance carrying offerings to smallpox-controlling Goddess of Leftover Food, represented by a stone under tall tree, right, and to Holika, goddess of Holi's bonfire site, off to left.

503. View toward southwest from fortress, January, 1969. Large mud house of Jat (caste B) cultivator is at top of hill, left foreground; small mud houses of Sweepers (caste X) are at bottom of hill, center; brick barn of Brahman (caste A) cultivators are at far left, below; green fields of Brahmans, Muslims (Q), and Baghele (I) cultivators lie beyond.

505. "Persian wheel" machinery (installed ca. 1954) being used for raising well water by a prosperous Baghele Goatherd (caste I) cultivator in February, 1969. (Owner's barn is in No. 544).

506. State government-built, large-bore electrical tubewell for irrigation, in service since 1956. Seen in March, 1969.

508. Housing of a tubewell built in 1969, owned by a cultivating, landed family of Leatherworker caste, U.A.B. The young man, elder son of the family, has eight years of schooling, is a full-time farmer. (The family's experience is discussed in Marriott, "New Farmers in an Old Village" in Singer, ed., forthcoming).

509. Inside the tubewell (same as in No. 508), the electrical switchboard is marked "Danger," carries pictures of Hindu god Vishnu and of All-India Scheduled Castes Federation founder, B. R. Ambedkar, whose political leadership was followed by most Leatherworkers of Aligarh district.

510. High school student of Jat caste (rank B), son of a small owner-cultivator, examines the water-time account book of a tubewell owned by a wealthy Brahman field-neighbor whose water he is directing to one of his father's two fields in February, 1969. Tool in background is a mattock.

511. Baghele Thakur, formerly Goatherd (rank I) cultivator, sole heir of the family owning the well in No. 505 and the barn and cattle in No. 544, guides water with a mattock to his fields of wheat. He has done some high school, is a full-time farmer and moneylender.

513. 1969 ruins of the mud and brick house in the fortress (shown in 1952 condition in No. 11) owned by ex-landlord B.A.A. of Jat caste, who moved out in 1962 to live as a cultivator in a small brick house at his tubewell and orchard in the fields.

516. B.D.B., a Jat (caste B) ex-landlord, bought land and moved to Kishan Garhi with his elder brother in 1952. He led the village in using chemical fertilizer (1952), improved wheat seed (1957), and many other new crops and practices. He was elected Chairman (Pradhan) of the village council in 1960 and re-elected in 1963, with support from a coalition of Jats, Muslims, and many landless persons of low castes against an incumbent party led and mainly favored by the Brahman cultivators.

517. Some members of the 15-member village council seated with B.D.B. on his verandah in 1969. Left to right are an artisan of Cottoncarder caste (N), another Jat cultivator, B.D.B., and B.D.B.'s elder brother. The council has used its income from selling landlord "common" fields and tax revenues to build some paved wells and lanes, and part of a brick school house.

518. Collecting subscriptions for repairing and extending the village school building are council chairman B.D.B. and his Muslim cultivator ally (left). Cooperating with them are two opposition leaders, both Brahmans, at center a flour mill owner (also pictured in No. 541) and at right, a cultivator.

520. A Brahman teacher of elementary school shows the share of his new, improved steel plow, obtained in 1968 from the nearby National Extension Service Block store through the Village Level Worker.

521. Same as No. 520: preparing for sowing of a summer crop; the plow in action in March, 1969, in a field of clay soil.

525. A new tractor of 1969 negotiates a narrow intersection of a lane of mud barns and houses owned mostly by Brahman cultivators.

526. Cultivator attachment for a tractor can do some of the heavy work that bullock-pulled plows used to do, but bullocks are still needed for intercultivation, sowing, etc.

527. The village's second tractor, an Escorts, was assembled in a Polish-aided factory at Nilokheri, purchased in 1969 with the help of government credit by a substantial cultivator of Brahman caste (who is also pictured in No. 4, 5). The tractor was mainly used for pumping water in 1969. (A celebration of its arrival is in No. 589).

528. The tractor-owner and his son learn from the driver who delivered the machine (a cousin) how to service the tractor.

529. Harvesting of field peas in March, 1969, by a heterogeneous team of workers (castes H, U) employed by a large cultivator of Kachi (Vegetable Gardener) caste (rank H) who is in the foreground.

531. Distribution of daily wages in kind to wheat-harvest hands in March, 1969. Employer is a wealthy Baghele Thakur (rank I) cultivator; receiving employee is a Waterman-caste worker (rank J) who has been largely displaced from his previous water-carrying work (No. 63) by wells, handpumps (No. 562) and altered women's roles. Other workers here are mostly Fakir Devotees (rank Q).

532. Olpad threshing machine in action, March, 1969, pulled by a single bullock of Baghele employer in No. 531. Laborers at right, of Leatherworker caste (rank U), rest, but are generally rather fully employed, despite labor-saving machinery.

534. Harvesting potatoes, March, 1969, done by a crew mainly of castes P and U, for a Brahman cultivating owner.

535. Garden crops increasingly grown with reliable irrigation include castor bean (right) and turnip (left).

536. Garden crops like turnip, carrot, and sweet potato require much weeding and cultivating by human labor with mattock.

537. Brahman owner cleans and chops improved crop of huge carrots for feeding to livestock, family. Improved carrot

seed was obtained from a source 50 miles distant.

538. Garden at new temple, 1969, half the land of a small owner and part-time laborer of Leatherworker caste (see No. 12, 539). Crops include banana, papaya, cabbage, and spices, all for sale, and marigolds for the gods of the temple.

539. Leatherworker (rank U) owner of garden in No. 538 sells cut papaya fruit in 1969 at the door of a Barber (rank K) against the older (1952) convention that high castes will accept only whole, unprocessed foodstuffs from very low castes.

540. Temporary factory for making crude sugar (gur) from sugar-cane grown by B.D.B. and his brother (pictured in No. 516-518). Canes are crushed in bullock-operated iron press, then used for fire to boil down the juice into thick molasses that can be cooled and shaped into five-pound cakes. Sugar-making specialist and fireman are both of Khatik caste.

541. A mill for grinding grain into flour, powered by belts from the electrical motor of the first privately owned tube-well (built in 1961), that of two landless Brahmans once trained to be domestic priests. Their mill and tube-well building are shown in No. 615-616. Here one of the Brahman owners (who also appears in No. 518) grinds grain for a Leatherworker (formerly "Untouchable") customer.

542. Daughter-in-law and mother-in-law preparing food for a Brahman cultivating family's feast at the festival called "Goddess Ninth" (Devi Naumi) in March, 1969. (Head of family is also in No. 545, 594).

543. Glass and brass dishes ready for serving from the same kitchen as in No. 542.
No. 542. (Cf. clay dishes in No. 43).

544. Animals tied at feeding troughs outside the new brick barn and residence of a wealthy Baghele cultivator (owner of "Persian wheel" in No. 505), 1969.

545. Disease-killed buffalo and mourning owner--a cultivator of Brahman caste (storyteller of No. 594)--in 1969.

546. A wealthy Brahman cultivator proudly shows a good team of bullocks in front of his brick men's house, 1969.

547. Children of landless Potter families in 1969 find grass to cut for feeding to their animals on roadsides and irrigation channels, here between fields of anise and rice.

549. Bullock-powered fodder-chopping machinery installed in 1969 by one Baghele family will save many hours of labor daily.

550. A rotary chopper, originally intended for hand cranking, is here worked by belt attached to an electrical tubewell motor. The operator is a non-literate Leatherworker servant of the tubewell owner, ex-landlord B.A.A.

551. Women of Leatherworker caste return from harvest work in Kishan Garhi to their own nearby village, Ram Nagla, following an irrigation channel and carrying their earnings.

552. A ghee (clarified butter)-trader collects his product from the council chairman's house, one of the two-thirds of all households that in 1969 own buffalo cows. He is of Merchant caste (rank C), has his shop in the next village, Ram Nagla.

553. A Potter loads a donkey with clay and a Fakir (caste Q) laborer carries home a headload of turnips. 1969.

554. A cultivator of Brahman caste in February, 1969 drives his bullock cart from the village to one of his outlying fields carrying a load of sugarcane.

555. A party of affinal relatives leaves Kishan Garhi, fetching their married sister back to her original home from her place of marriage in a local Jat cultivator's household. They travel two persons to a bicycle.

556. A locally resident aluminum utensil trader of Fakir Devotee caste (rank Q) circulates in villages by bicycle to sell his wares. February, 1969.

557. A village shop of middling size belonging to a trader of Jogi Devotee caste, located in the Carpenters' neighborhood, 1969.

559. A weaver of carpets, bed-rugs, blankets, and suiting material from locally grown and hand-spun cotton yarn can earn from two to three times the daily wage of an agricultural worker in 1969. He is of Muslim Manihar caste (rank R).

560. Itinerant religious mendicant of Jogi Devotee caste (rank F) sings for alms a Hindu devotional song, accompanying himself on a small double-headed drum symbolic of the god Siva. He sits at the door of the council chairman's house, and a neighbor, a long-haired, horse taxi-driving Barber, listens.

561. A Hindu holy man (sadhu), retired from Brahman householding to a life of philosophic contemplation and mendicancy, visits prosperous villagers in quest for alms. He and two others are fed and quartered in a religious shelter (dharamsala) built by one Brahman cultivator (who, with his own residence, No. 567, appears in No. 568).

562. A Brahman cultivator and tubewell owner cultivates the higher Hindu life at his new brick residence by the fine

brass fittings of his new handpump, the brass water pail, and the formal structure for his sweet basil tree (tulsi), representative of the god Krishna.

564. Brick house under construction for a Potter who is also a small-scale cultivator. He hires an expert builder of Leatherworker caste, and insists on very elaborate ornamental interior brick work, but hauls his own brick on donkeys, and does some of the cement work himself.

565. New but empty Mughal-style brick house of a wealthy Baghele cultivator, a showplace located in a Brahman neighborhood. The house is not yet inhabited in February, 1969, since the family prefers to stay in their mud barn near their fields, where most other Bagheles reside.

566. View, 1969, to southeast from east tower of the village fortress, looking over the brick facade of a Barber's (in No. 560) mud house, center. The new brick men's parlour of the council chairman, B.D.B. (in No. 516) is at the right, and that of a wealthy Baghele cultivator and money-lender is at the left.

567. Tiled brick-and-concrete facade of a wealthy, childless Brahman cultivator's house, built in 1969 by skilled masons of Leatherworker caste. Large entrance at left has a steel gate. (Owner of same building appears in No. 90, 568, 607).

568. Interior of same building as in No. 567. Owner is seated in a wicker chair, one of 30 such in the village. Compare single chair of 1952 in No. 12.

569. Rooftop view of same building as in No. 69, but in 1969. Thatch and mud cover rebuilt roof of stone slabs, steel beams, and concrete.

570. Painting for fast of "Pitcher Fourth" done in 1968 by women of a well-to-do Carpenter's household, whose other members are pictured in No. 575, 588.

571. Potter-caste couple of average economic position in their mud house, decorated by the wife, 1969.

572. Tailor working in 1969 at his sewing machine in the family courtyard. The kitchen screen, behind him, was decorated in bas-relief by his mother, and was painted by his school-age children.

573. Cupboard in the mud front room of a Jat trader and small-scale cultivator, loaded with personal books, lamps. medicines, cosmetics. Prints are of Hindu gods. 1969.

574. Brahman joint family of A.G.C. (whose policies are examined in Marriott, "New Farmers in an Old Village," Singer, ed., forthcoming), bus conductor and expert cultivator, who stands at right. Seated elder brother is household head, bus dis-

patcher, and owner-manager of two tubewells. Third brother, standing at left, is electrical lineman, visits with wife and children from residence in next district. Fourth brother is renegade, unmarried, resident but absent. Brick wall behind is to accomodate fuse box, "temporary" electrical illumination of house otherwise still of mud in February, 1969. (See also No. 584).

575. Carpenter-caste joint household members gathered around elderly father. Son at left travels weekly to factory work, seven miles distant. Son at right (also in No. 588) travels daily to elementary school teaching job. Mother and sons' wives, children remain together. (Painting in No. 570).

576. Farewell salutations on the path of exit take place between fathers of bride and groom, conclude nuptial rites (1969) for a girl of Kishan Garhi in Jogi Devotee caste. Girl's family's hereditary Barber (taller man) serves as intermediary, expert on protocol. (He is boy feeding Brahmans in 1952, No. 88).

577. "Bed ritual" at the wedding of a girl of a family of average means in the local Washerman caste group. In this scene, groom is worshipped by bride's relatives. 1969.

578. Bride seated at foot of bed in same ritual as in No. 577. 1969.

579. Recently married couple of 1969, the bride arrived to stay for the first time in her husband's village, Kishan Garhi. They are of Kachi caste, and he is of a well-to-do cultivating family. The bride shows respect toward her husband by hiding her face, and similarly hides from the photographer, who would be classed as a husband's elder brother or father-in-law.

580. The same bride as in No. 579 showing her face to the camera after her husband has stepped out of the vicinity. Jewelry and sari are gifts of groom's family to bride.

581. Daughter of B.A.A., ex-landlord of Jat caste, poses for portrait in her father's mango orchard while on a three-month visit to Kishan Garhi in 1969. She ordinarily lives with husband and children in his more sophisticated village 70 miles to the north. She counts the photographer as her brother, hence need not hide her face for propriety's sake, but her bare head and provocative manner toward many men arouse disapproval.

582. Dance (of phag style, typical of Holi festival) with phallic gestures by hands and jerking of hips, done with drum accompaniment at a women's gathering in a Jat ex-landlord's house by 60-year old wife of a laborer of Muslim Fakir Devotee caste. She receives gifts of food in return for her spirited and expert, but amateur performances.

583. Dancing (of bhandi, a seductive, feminine style) and singing at women's afternoon party celebrating hostess' family members' pilgrimage to Goddess of Nagarkot. Women are mostly of Brahman, Jat, Maithil Carpenter, Barber castes (ranks A, B, E, K). Dish of grain is held by hostess over the head of each dancer to avoid her attracting evil eye, which may be present in unconsciously envious glances.

584. Music in the house of Brahman cultivator and bus conductor A.G.C. (family in No. 574), with dancing by his youngest sister, who is to be married the following month, in April, 1969. Her dance is copied from a movie act that she has seen and narrates the story of a girl on a train getting her ticket punched.

585. High school and junior college students of Sweeper (X, right and left foreground), Washerman (V, center foreground), and Brahman castes (A, approaching from rear) return to Kishan Garhi daily from schools six miles distant. Washerman student looks downward to avoid evil eye.

586. Boys of cultivating families of Baghele caste on their way to elementary school in the village, wearing goggles while pretending to be aviators, astronauts.

587. Graduate student with master's degree in chemistry, hopes for Ph.D. study. He is here to attend a funeral feast in another family of his Brahman kin group, is same as boy eating in No. 88. His elder brother, with elementary schooling only, is largest cultivator in village, thus able to finance younger brother's higher education.

588. Elementary school teacher, son of local artisan of Maithil Carpenter caste (see No. 575), acts out his caste's claim to Brahmanhood by performance each morning of crepuscular (sandhya) ritual in Vedic Sanskrit language. This ritual is otherwise known in the village only to the few Sanadhya Brahmans who are trained as priests.

589. Fire sacrifice (hom) concluding Satya Narayan worship to inaugurate the tractor shown in No. 525, 527-528. Priest sits at left; then father, then son of tractor owner, who is at right.

590. Elementary school teacher, son of a large cultivator of Kachi Vegetable Gardener caste, reads Sanskrit text of Devi Mahatmya and worships goddess in his personal shrine every morning before cycling to school. 1969.

591. A temple of Siva built about 1960 through the bequest of a cultivator of Brahman caste. Siva here receives a visit from the god Gopalji Maharaj (Krishna), who travels in a palanquin from his temple owned by Jat ex-landlord B.A.A. On his own annual processional day, started about 1962, Gopalji visits all five other local temples.

592. Two men of Kachi cultivating family which owns this Siva

temple have brought Ganges river water on foot. They have come 40 miles without resting for the annual festival of Siv Ratri.

593. A scene from a two-day musical performance of episodes from the popular biography of Lord Krishna (Ras Lila) in Kishan Garhi by a professional, all-male troupe from Mathura City. The performance in 1969 was another act in the festival of the local temple of Gopalji Maharaj whose procession is pictured in No. 591.

594. An amateur raconteur, a local cultivator of Brahman caste (also in No. 545), entertains informally with a comical story about a goat. 1969.

595. Musical melodrama (svang) peformed by a travelling company of Jat caste in neighboring village, 1969. The play is "Puran Mal."

596. Classical music lovers in concert at B.A.A.'s house during the Holi festival of 1969 include members present in 1952 (No. 96) and others of castes A, E, F, N, Q, T, U.

597. Some local Muslim Fakir Devotees, plus Muslim outsiders, about 1968 formed a new dancing group copying certain urban styles and bearing the title "Gem Band." It is much in demand for entertainment at feasts, weddings. (More in No. 598).

598. Dancers of No. 597 are males in female clothing.

599. Diners at the 1,000-guest funeral feast in 1969 of the aged grandmother of a well-to-do cultivating Brahman family. Persons of various higher half of castes are mixed in seating.

600. Inner verandah at same feast as in No. 599. There is no difference in caste composition of diners in inner or outer parts of verandah feasting platform.

601. Persons of the lowest two castes--Bhangi Sweepers and Kanjar Hunters--are still in 1969 seated below the platform, in the street, or in a separate row area from other diners.

602. Boys of Sweeper caste herd pigs near a pond so that the animals can eat the human feces deposited on the banks each morning by villagers who like then to clean themselves with pond water.

603. Wife of a Sweeper caste scavenger was found visiting in outer court of Tailor house. She is acknowledged to be the most beautiful wife in the village.

604. Minimally trained physician of Khatik caste (rank P) from a neighboring village emerges from house call on a Brahman family. Injections of penicillin are one of his most-used treatments in 1969.

607. In front of the house of a Cottoncarder (caste N) who also repairs bicycles, two Brahman cultivators are seated on a cot, while one level of the platform is the simultaneous sitting place of men of castes B, N, Q, and U, both landed and landless.

609. Boys throwing mud and dust on each other and on elder (photographer) at Holi, 1969.

610. Wife of Kachi caste pours colored water on her husband's brother's daughter's husband, who is a guest at her house shortly before Holi, 1969.

611. Boys of Jat cultivator families rub each other's faces with color on Holi, 1969.

612. A Brahman wife stalks the lane with a heavy stick, looking for husbands (men of the village) to beat, at Holi, 1969.

613. While Brahman wives attack, husbands and boys scatter in confusion. A few stand, trying to guard their shins by planting their own sticks on the ground. Holi, 1969.

614. A gathering of Brahman cultivators at the neighborhood Siva temple for conversation and card-playing, March, 1969.

615. Formal Holi game at the flour mill, 1969. Husbands' team encircles wives' team, tries to seize sugar cake without being beaten by wives. (Continued in No. 616-617).

616. Continuation of Holi game of No. 615, 1969.

617. Riot at end of Holi game, 1969. Wives dueling with husbands ad lib.

618. Dancing (in phag and bhandi styles) at flour mill on evening of Holi, 1969, by wives, husbands, and boys, of castes A, J, K, P, and U.

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